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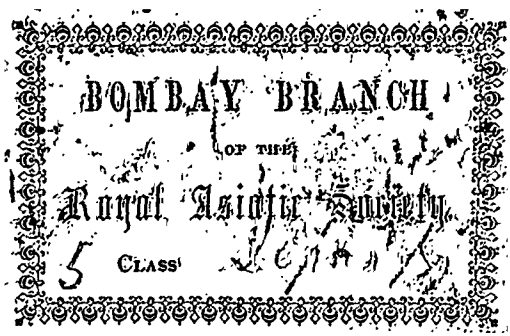

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GERMAN LETTERS

ON

ENGLISH EDUCATION.

WRITTEN

DURING AN EDUCATIONAL TOUR IN 1876

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&C

BY

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TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The "intelligent foreigner", who in these letters gives us the results of his observations, and the impressions made upon his mind by our educational institutions and arrangements, deserves, for many reasons, to be listened to with more than ordinary attention and respect, and the suggestions he makes deserve our serious consideration. Not only has he earnestly striven to arrive at a right understanding and appreciation of our educational systems, as he has testified by his repeated visits to the schools of England and Scotland, but his extensive and thorough knowledge of the educational establishments of Germany, with the superintendence and technical administration of which he has been intrusted by his government for many years, point him out as *the* man who. above all others, is competent to express his opinions on the educational questions which of late years have engaged, more than any other, the attention of Englishmen, and which are still far from being satisfactorily settled.

More than twenty years ago Dr. Wiese visited England for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the systems of education and instruction pursued in our public schools, and after his return home he published

his impressions in a little volume entitled 'Deutsche Briefe über Englische Erziehung,' which was translated into English by Lieutenant W. B. Arnold, the son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and published in 1854. The work created considerable sensation, and was extensively read both in this country and on the continent. At that time Dr. Wiese was a comparatively young man, and one of the heads of the oldest Royal Foundation School at Berlin, the constitution of which greatly resembles that of our ancient public schools. Dr. Wiese at that time had the entire management of that rich foundation, while his colleague, A. Meincke, as head-master, had the superintendence of everything connected with the instruction. It was his connection with that great establishment that made Dr. Wiese desirous to visit the English public schools and to study their systems and arrangements. What he then saw and heard in England, especially of the noble work of Dr. Arnold at Rugby, as described in Dean Stanley's Life of that great educator, filled him with an admiration of our public school system, which would probably have been somewhat tempered, if he had had opportunities of examining the actual working of other schools; but even then he correctly apprehended, on the whole, the great and characteristic features of English public schools.

It is an excellent custom in Prussia to associate with the Minister of Public Instruction men, as councillors, who have large practical experience in educational matters, and have given evidence of their administrative powers in that department. Dr. Wiese was pre-eminently such a man, and accordingly, in 1852, he was raised to the position of Councillor to the Minister of Public Instruction. In this position he had virtually the superinten-

dence and the technical administration of all the higher schools (both the *Gymnasia* and the *Realschulen*) throughout the kingdom of Prussia. After the formation of the North German Confederation, and still more after the restoration of the German Empire, his influence was felt, more or less, in all the states of Germany. During this last period it was found necessary to revise the scholastic arrangements of the empire, and a commission was appointed, with Dr. Wiese as chairman, the object of which was to regulate and superintend the higher schools of Germany, especially in reference to the privileges enjoyed by their pupils in regard to military service. Independently of this, he was appointed to prepare the way for introducing in Alsace-Lorraine the German system of schools, for which purpose he repeatedly visited that country to examine its educational institutions. As regards Prussia and the adjoining smaller states, to which his services at all times were more especially devoted, there is scarcely any public school which Dr. Wiese did not personally inspect and help to improve by his advice and his suggestions.*

In 1875, after having filled the office of Ministerial Councillor for upwards of twenty years, Dr. Wiese resigned and retired into private life, not on account of his age, for he is still a man full of vigour and energy,

* It may, perhaps, interest some English readers to know that Dr. Wiese, under the authority of the Minister of Public Instruction, has published two works which alone contain official and authentic information on the Prussian schools. Their titles are: 1. 'Historisch-statistische Darstellung des höheren Schulwesens in Preussen,' in three vols., the last of which was published at Berlin in 1874; 2. 'Verordnungen und Gesetze für die höheren Schulen in Preussen,' 2nd edit., Berlin, 1875.

but because, after a long official life of nearly fifty years, he naturally desired, during the rest of his life, to enjoy the pleasure of pursuing his own favourite studies. It is not improbable, however, that his retirement was partially owing to his feeling that he could not conscientiously carry out the ideas of the present Minister of Public Instruction.

Being relieved from all official duties, and having gained an amount of educational knowledge such as few men can boast of, Dr. Wiese last year again visited this country for the sole purpose of seeing what progress had been made in its educational development; for he still follows with loving interest the course taken by the educational movements both in Germany and in England, being convinced that a nation's moral and intellectual well-being mainly depends upon its education.

He thus came among us enriched with all his official experience, and at an age when illusions have given way to sober reflection. The whole of last summer he devoted to visiting all classes of English schools, attending meetings of teachers, conversing with men of all shades of opinions on educational matters, and, in short, availing himself of every opportunity of gathering information. By this means he has been enabled to give to the world an unbiassed picture of our educational condition, which though not free from serious defects, yet contains elements which justify the hope that at no distant time the education of English youths will be equal, if not superior, to that at present given in the best educated countries of Europe.

There are a few points which Dr. Wiese, in common with all true friends of education, would wish to see

reformed, and I venture to draw attention to them here, because upon them depends the success of all our other reforms. First, there ought to be a proper method of ascertaining the qualifications of a person before he is allowed to undertake the functions of a teacher. Hitherto the possession of a certain amount of knowledge has been thought sufficient, and the degree of B.A. or M.A. is generally considered satisfactory evidence of a man's possessing the qualifications necessary to undertake the education of the young in our great public schools. But there is no lack of examples to show that a man may possess any amount of learning or knowledge and yet be a very inefficient teacher. In addition to his knowledge he must possess other indispensable qualities: he must have the power of communicating knowledge in a clear and attractive manner; he must have sympathy with the young in order to be able effectively to guide their actions and inclinations in the right way; he must be enthusiastic in his profession, and not regard its duties, as is but too often the case, as mere drudgery; and lastly, he must be able to inspire his pupils with a love for their studies, and for everything that is good and noble. It is obvious that these qualities cannot be discovered by a mere examination for a degree.

A second defect to which Dr. Wiese directs our attention is our present system of examinations, which has produced that peculiar species of industry called "cramming" or "coaching," than which nothing can be more dangerous to the interests of true education.

I must leave it to the readers of Dr. Wiese's letters to ponder these important questions, and to devise remedies for the existing evils. My task has been simply to put

his book in an English dress before the English public; and tacitly to correct a few errors which were almost unavoidable in a work which has to deal with so great an amount of detail collected in a comparatively short period of time. May the book contribute its mite towards a final and satisfactory solution of the all-important question of public education!

THE EDITOR.

FROM THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE following letters were written in England, but after my return home they have been revised and somewhat extended for publication. They were originally addressed to friends who, from having been my colleagues for many years, have become dear to my heart. The epistolary form will be at once an excuse and a justification of the character of my communications. Completeness in statistical and other matters, even if it had been attainable, has not been aimed at any more than a strictly objective form or the precision of a systematic report. I have rather availed myself fully of that freedom in the treatment of my subject, which is allowed in letters to a friend. I have endeavoured to reproduce the impressions made upon me during many observations and on different occasions, and to unite them into one picture, without refraining from giving free expression to my own thoughts and recollections, as they were called forth by circumstances. This is also the reason why the letters are called "German," which is not an idle attribute. Without wishing everywhere to compare England and Germany, I could not in my descriptions conceal either my knowledge of German schools or the interest I take in them, especially at a time when the union of Germany and the preparation of

an educational law for the largest of the German states have called forth new hopes and new problems for our schools.

In our days there is danger, arising from various causes, of schools becoming unfaithful to their duty as educational institutions, and of confining their function to the communication of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect. But, however indisputable the right and dominion of the intellect may be in investigation and demonstration, yet in active and moral life for which the young are to be educated, it very often happens that the will is not determined by the intellect, which permits itself but too often, under certain impulses, to be used as a tool by the desires and inclinations of man. The problem of education is to purify and to strengthen the will. In England it has always been admitted that in developing free and independent characters the school and the family must go hand in hand, and that, accordingly, the acquisition of knowledge is not the principal object in education. The more recent development of public-school affairs is taking a different direction; but in the old public schools, and in those formed after their model, the same educational idea still prevails and bears its fruit. To acknowledge this is no depreciation of that which is peculiar to Germany; and whoever looks at my account as a whole will find that it is impartial, and that my only desire has been to assist my countrymen in acquiring an accurate knowledge of a foreign country, which may be instructive to us by its defects as well as by its excellences.

Where the present letters show discrepancies from opinions I have expressed on a former occasion, the reader

will not, I hope, at once charge me with inconsistency, for many things appear different when looked at from different points of view and at different times. The passages I quote from English writers are for the most part intended to confirm my own opinions, for it not unfrequently happens that the expressions of men who live in the midst of the educational movement show a dissatisfaction with the actual state of affairs, where my own observations had led me to the same conclusion. But as at all times only those strictures are just and fair which are united with a recognition of the real value of a thing, and grow out of such appreciation, the things which I have said in praise of English schools, both on a former occasion and in my present work, perhaps give me the right to speak with freedom also on other aspects of the subject in the manner I have done in these letters.

L. WIESE.

POTSDAM, *November* 1876.

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GERMAN LETTERS

ON

ENGLISH EDUCATION.

LETTER I.

Motives of the Journey—Personal Meetings—First Impressions.

Edinburgh, August 1876.

After long wanderings through the Island I will begin here, in the beautiful capital of Scotland, to collect my observations. You know all that had passed when I formed the resolution once more to visit England. My official life, which had been devoted to the youth of Germany in my varied activity as a teacher and in taking part in the highest administration of scholastic affairs, had come to an end. During that period of my life, I had not only become intimately acquainted with the higher schools of Prussia, but in consequence of the gradual re-establishment of the German empire, I had entered into a closer relation with the higher schools of Germany in general, and my official activity had extended even to Alsace and Lorraine. The time had arrived when I had to look backward, rather than forward, and when my thinking became more and more a remembering. In happy retirement—*Deus nobis haec otia fecit*—I recalled to my mind the

past, and following the ways of the development of our public schools in their connection with our political history, I recognised in the progress of this striving after improved culture more and more distinctly a manifestation of the peculiarly German mind.

There is no country in Europe in which at present men are not occupied with questions about education. More perceptibly than for a long time past, Time now lays his hand on everything existing, and it is as if education were taken to account, as if its results were more sharply criticised, and as if it were more urgently called upon to assist in arriving at a better state of things. All that happens in State and Church and in the wider spheres of social life, urges those concerned—more or less consciously—to think and to take care of the rising generation. It may perhaps be said that this task has nowhere been more deeply apprehended than among the Teutonic nations. In Germany, the school has never ceased to be an object of care with the different governments, as well as of universal interest; and in England, during the last few years, it has become a matter of the first importance for the government and private enterprise, which there so often competes with the government. With the exception of Alsace and Lorraine, where at present the German school combats the traditions of French culture, the active movements in the domain of education nowhere excite as much interest as in England. The cause of this and the course it has hitherto taken were not unknown to me. The desire to compare the higher schools of England with our own, had in former years drawn me to that country, and I had ever since remained somehow connected with its school-life. But I was no longer satisfied with watching the current of

affairs at a distance; I wished to look into the actual condition of things with my own eyes, to form, as it were, the conclusion of my school-experiences.

The fact that our age has brought the nations into closer contact than was the case in former times increases their mutual interest, and a comparison with what is foreign facilitates the right understanding of what is peculiar to ourselves. And I think that he who does not know England lacks the knowledge of one of the most peculiar and marked types of the Teutonic mind, a type which has become what it is in the course o centuries through its natural relations and its history.

But we do not know the schools of a country by having become acquainted merely with individual institutions, their constitutions, etc.: we have to consider not the isolated school, but its position in its connection with the whole of popular life; and this renders it necessary to live for a considerable time in the same atmosphere, and to allow oneself to be borne by the current of life in different directions. As I wished to do this, I had to make haste, before it might be too late for me. I will not deny that I also felt it as a peculiar charm or instinctive impulse, after a long official life spent in the service of the order and regularity of a system of state-schools, once more, as a recreation, to pass some time in the uncontrolled freedom of the arrangements and conditions of English schools which are almost wholly independent of the state.

Well, I have carried out my plan; I have travelled about in England and Scotland for more than three months, endeavouring everywhere by observations on the spot, by inquiry and conversation, to complete or correct my knowledge of particular subjects acquired elsewhere, and

to arrive at a correct judgment on the position of the general questions that are of importance to me. In doing this I have revisited a large number of schools and seen others for the first time; and I have, on various occasions, by letter or by personal intercourse discussed scholastic questions with teachers of different institutions as well as with government officials.

The polite reception which I have met with almost everywhere shall always be kept in grateful remembrance. During my former visit the recommendation of Bunsen, then ambassador in London, opened to me many doors otherwise closed against a foreigner. This time I owe most to the sympathy of influential gentlemen, in England especially of Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., formerly Minister of State, of Mr. Matthew Arnold his brother-in-law, of the present Dean of Westminster, Arthur P. Stanley, the biographer of Thomas Arnold; further of our learned countryman, Dr. Leonhard Schmitz in London, and in Scotland of Professor S. S. Laurie. But even with such assistance, it is always difficult in this country to attain objects such as mine were. In my former official position I was able easily to assist others engaged in similar pursuits, and it often happened that they were Englishmen. When strangers came to Berlin for the purpose of making themselves acquainted with the Prussian school-system by direct observations in the institutions themselves, and for that purpose applied to the ministry, an open letter from me addressed in general to the heads of schools in Berlin or elsewhere in the Prussian dominion always had the effect of a *passe-port*, and was respected even beyond the frontiers of Prussia. As there does not exist in England any such central school-administration, special

access has to be procured for every individual institution, and the granting it always depends upon the goodwill of the particular head-master. Very many things happened to be specially favourable to my inquiries, among others the fact that Parliament was this year more than ever engaged on school questions, and that by special favour I was permitted to attend these discussions in the House of Commons itself.

Few Germans have received pleasant impressions from meeting with travelling Englishmen on the Continent. There is perhaps no nation that takes less trouble to be kind and civil to others on such occasions than Englishmen. It is quite different in the country itself. Even here it often happens that at first the consequences of their insular seclusion are felt, and that some time is required to accommodate oneself to the traditions and forms or conventionalities of their mode of life. But when in personal intercourse the ice of their reserve is once broken through, you discover below it—especially if, as I was several times permitted to do, you take part in their family life—very often most amiable characters, and receive from them proofs of true friendship and readiness to serve you.

In this respect also England is a country of contrasts, and it is very difficult to form a just and correct judgment of Englishmen. The longer a foreigner, who carefully observes them, lives in the country, the more cautious he will be in forming an opinion or coming to a final conclusion. Any one may undertake to refute any generalising assertion about characteristic peculiarities of the people, with convincing proofs of the opposite. In the most sober-minded practical man you will perhaps

to-morrow discover an idealist. With most unbounded appreciation of personal independence they combine the sense of strictest loyalty. It not unfrequently happens that with all their calculation they appear fantastical in their undertakings. How often have they not heard it said of themselves that they do not know a disinterested high-minded policy dictated by noble motives; that warm sympathy with other nations is foreign to them; that everything has to pass to them across the sea, and is cooled on the road: and now we witness this storm of enthusiasm among the people for the liberation of the Christians from the yoke of the Turks in the distant East! It will soon be seen whether in this case also the usual political solidarity between the people and the government of England will be proved by the acts of the latter.

In London itself it took some time to accustom myself to the restlessness of its public life; I felt that in comparison with former days it had immensely increased, and at first I was somewhat confused by it. Even the language seemed to be affected by the general hurry; a very general stenography of the mouth more and more weakens the articulation of the sounds, and renders many things quite unintelligible to one who is not accustomed to it. I was not surprised to hear sometimes, that, in contrast with this, the "distinctness" was praised with which Germans spoke English.

During the last decades, London has acquired a very different aspect through the erection of numerous grand buildings. I also saw several schools, which had been known to me before, in a renovated form. In the case of not a few of them, it has been found absolutely necessary to transfer them into more open localities, for the same

reasons which demand the removal of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium in Berlin. The old Charterhouse School had already emigrated from the narrow smoky region of Smithfield to Godalming, in the splendid scenery of the Surrey Hills. The buildings of the school-colony of these happy Carthusians, provided in a most handsome manner with everything necessary, has cost about 200,000*l.*, including the land. Care had been taken to make its history migrate with it: in several parts of the new buildings I saw memorial stones inserted in the walls containing the names of former pupils, especially of such as have become celebrated.

In the case of other institutions which are likewise expecting to be removed, *e.g.*, The Bluecoat School, the City of London School, and Westminster School, there are greater difficulties, besides which, in the last-named school, many attach great importance to the *religio loci;* but the number of their pupils is much diminished in consequence of its present unfavourable locality.

Rugby School has received so many external additions, and has become so much more handsome in appearance, that I scarcely recognised it, and everything has been done with English solidity. I shall never forget the day I spent there: it was Speech-day, the principal school-festival of the year. The head-master first took me into his study; it had been the study of Thomas Arnold. The recollection of that excellent man rose up more vividly before us during our conversation there. After the speeches (I shall have occasion to return to such school festivities) about two hundred persons were entertained by the head-master in the hall of the institution with liberal hospitality. Thereafter we saw the boys

scattered over the large green field, partly playing, and partly reclining in the shade of mighty trees: the whole story of Tom Brown passed before my eyes. I have a pleasing recollection of not a few other institutions on account of the beautiful scenery by which they are surrounded, as, for example, Mill-Hill School in the fairest part of Middlesex, Harrow, Dulwich, Forest School in Epping Forest near Leytonstone, Fettes College in the neighbourhood of this city, and several others.

During my present visit I have had more opportunities than before of observing the working of schools; in several I was permitted to be present during the lessons and to put questions to the pupils, nay, in some cases I was asked to conduct the instruction for a time myself. The head-masters readily gave me every information I desired, and were most obliging in their varied communications to me. There is at present great activity among English teachers; many men distinguished partly by their personal influence upon youths, partly by other pedagogic or didactic qualities, are engaged in the numerous and large educational establishments; and whoever has formed a closer acquaintance, to mention only a few, with the successful activity of head-masters like J. Percival at Clifton, G. Ridding at Winchester, Montagu Butler at Harrow, Jex Blake at Rugby, F. W. Walker in Manchester, E. A. Abbott and A. K. Isbister in London, R. F. Weymouth at Mill-Hill, F. B. Guy in the Forest School just mentioned, and others, can speak only with the greatest respect of such representatives of England's teachers.

I will now endeavour to arrange what I have observed and collected in such a manner as to give you a complete

picture of the present movement in educational matters in England. On my return journey I intend to stay in suitable localities, in order to give to my communications the freshness of the impressions of the country itself.

LETTER II.

Favourable Circumstances promoting a manly Education in England.—Self-made Men—Difference between the Higher schools of England and those of Germany—Agitated Questions—Fundamental Features of the Character of Englishmen.

Edinburgh.

More than twenty-five years have passed since my first educational tour through England; during a subsequent visit, four years ago, I could pay but little attention to schools. My present visit was, therefore, a second meeting with old friends after a period which had wrought many changes on both sides. We were no longer the same: the English schools had entered upon a period of thorough reform, and I myself, after a long activity in the administration of schools, had arrived at an age matured by experience; I faced the same objects as a different man, and looked at them with different eyes, and from a different point of view. Nevertheless the foundation had remained the same on both sides. The changes already perceptible in the public school affairs of England have in general not altered their essential character, or that of the education of the young; the force of tradition is too great in the country, and the national peculiarities are too deeply rooted to allow of radical changes. And I myself, thank God, have not become so dried up by official work as not to be able

still to contemplate, with the joyousness of a fresh and susceptible heart, the life of youth developing gaily and vigorously in the atmosphere of freedom. These letters will discuss other sides of the same subject, and will often be obliged to strike quite a different tone from that running through my former letters. One thing, however, remains —I must again acknowledge and praise the manner in which Englishmen know how to guard and to strengthen, in their boys, the germ of manliness; and, apart from excrescences and perversities, the free and vigorous conduct of English youths is a pedagogic virtue.

The dark sides of English boarding-school life * are well known to me; nevertheless it always affords me pleasure to recall the impression made upon me during this visit again, as often as I saw boys and youths amusing themselves in the open air, and that not only in the manly aristocratic schools like Eton and Harrow, but also in other places where the pupils are of a more mixed set of boys. Most of them with the fresh colour of health on their countenances, their bright eyes, firm gait, without a trace of constrained behaviour, were to me often a refreshing picture of blooming youth.

We soon discover that this condition is the effect of a variety of causes which elsewhere are not combined in the same manner or in the same measure. As among these causes, physical exercises and games (such as cricket and others, which aim at adroitness and strength of body) occupy a prominent place among the customary means of education, one might perhaps think of transplanting such

* The term boarding-school is here used in its most general sense, including all our public schools where the pupils are boarded in the houses of masters. The German expression is *alumnate*.—Ed.

things into Germany. The wish that this might be done has been expressed to me also during my present stay in England by Germans who were able to compare the two countries in regard to the physical training of youth; and in fact German teachers have repeatedly agreed to study these games in England in order to introduce them among ourselves. The attempts have been made in vain. The conditions of life are too different in the two countries, and we shall never be able to make up our minds to devote as much of the time of our school-hours as seems requisite for games which, after all, would not be a proper substitute for gymnastic exercises.

English youths acquire a national feeling of independence earlier than ours. I have never met with a vain or arrogant feeling of self-consciousness at that age; but they know that they are Englishmen, a part of a great nation whose position commands respect in all quarters of the globe, they know that they belong to one another, and that in this national community the one may rely upon the other. Things are not yet in this state with us; but I believe we are on the right road to it, and we may venture to hope, considering the latest turn which our history has taken, that this powerful agent in a manly education will in our case also become more and more effective, and that, not the proud, but the joyous consciousness of the growing and increasing national unity will become more and more active. In England there are many opportunities for observing the unusual vital strength of the people. This, according to my conviction, is the Germanic element; and in Germany itself, this same vital strength, so it please God, is now—in the union of its different tribes, previously separated to their own

detriment—leading to a national rejuvenescence. I am quite aware how much is still wanting for such a state of things, what wrong paths have to be avoided or abandoned; but our public schools can help in bringing this about, principally by their strengthening the uniting forces, for which purpose instruction in history and literature can be applied with the best result.

At the time of Germany's deepest humiliation, at the beginning of this century, General Gneisenau—who entertained a high opinion of the invigorating air of England as regards manly education—expressed the wish that a seminary might be there established for German youths. Montesquieu traced the origin of England's constitution to the forests of her Germanic mother-country—whence German love of freedom had been carried over as a germ, and had been developed and matured by the favourable position of the land. In accordance with Gneisenau's proposal, the gift in return—the model and the means for furthering a vigorous and national education—should be fetched from England. The thought had arisen out of the distress of the Fatherland, and its impracticability could not but soon become evident; still it was not so fantastic as what Fichte proposed at the same period and for the same purpose, that boys should be taken from their parents and brought into the society of eminent men, in order that by the example of the latter they might develop into nobler and more vigorous characters. God has so directed the fortunes of the German nation, that it is no longer tempted to think of extraordinary means for its salvation. May it not miss the right path that lies open before it!

Gneisenau's proposal reminds me of the international

educational establishments lately projected in England. I shall reserve the few things I have to say on this subject for a future letter.

One of Thomas Arnold's pedagogic remarks most applicable to English youths is that boys differ from one another less in talent than in energy. I have again found it confirmed in various ways in the country itself. In Germany, in accordance with our better regulated school affairs, we have a much more widely spread and general education than is met with in England; but in England it more frequently happens that young persons who, owing to their domestic circumstances, or it may be to causes for which they are themselves to blame, have been backward in their education, but being subsequently stimulated or favoured in some way, exhibit a wonderful strength of will to make up for what they have neglected, and by their own efforts to do that which others could not do for them. Not a few parents, even of the wealthy middle classes, give their sons only elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; the rest is left to the stimulating power of the school of life; and in many cases they are not disappointed. The number of self-taught men in England is greater than elsewhere. Self-taught and self-made men, such as Sir Stamford Raffles was, are still to be met with in England. I have there again become acquainted with several men in respected positions who, without having visited a higher school or a university, have, by self-chosen studies, acquired a very good and general education, and have displayed great taste for intellectual interests and a sound judgment, for instance, upon literary productions. The libraries also which they had gradually gathered around themselves were a proof of their intellectual aspirations.

In Germany publishers complain that philosophical books, and, in fact, works belonging to the more serious domain of literature, are less and less frequently purchased by private persons; in England this is not the case. With us the reason may in many instances be the result of our more limited means, as well as of the increase and the greater accessibility of public libraries; but the fact is that, for instance, at the seats of the nobility in our country, a good library is much less frequently met with than in former days; in England, among the educated classes, a well-stocked library is considered an essential part of the household furniture.

Englishmen can point to men like the one mentioned above in justification of their voluntary principle, and they certainly still estimate it according to its great value; but people have ceased to be satisfied with it either in regard to individuals or to communities. It has taken a long time to come to the determination to look into the traditional ways and means of education, and to recognise the necessity for thorough changes demanded by the national interest, as well as by the care for the public good. Even Milton raised his voice against the dry formalism of the higher teaching and lamented over the miserable instruction given to the children of the lower orders; he demanded that the misapplied treasures of the Church should be taken from it and be applied to the establishment of good schools. His words were of as little avail as the censure expressed in a similar manner by Bacon, Locke, and others in regard to the traditional school arrangements.

The history of the internal development of the higher school-system in Germany and in England proper shows

a difference which is characteristic of the two nations. With us the Reformation created an ideal, in which the intellectual culture, based upon the study of the ancient languages, was closely connected with that ethical culture which was nourished by the Gospel. In France also an attempt was made to realise this ideal, in the *Écoles* of *Port Royal*, the only refreshing green spot amid the uniformity of the French system of schools, forgotten by the French under the oppressive weight of the Jesuitical system of instruction, or at least not recognised in its typical value. In England the intellectual side has, generally speaking, at all times received less attention than the ethical in the form of the national. Attention is now more than formerly directed to the disproportion which sprang from this in the cultivation of the two sides, and people now endeavour to make up for what has been neglected. But while in Germany, even after the time when the original idea became obscured, and during the one-sided prevalence of intellectualism, an ideal direction was nevertheless followed, the present advance in England is more towards realism. This is partly to be traced to the deep after-effects of the influence of men like Bentham, Cobden, and Stuart Mill, who, starting from different points of view, have strengthened in the mental life of the nation, at the cost of its ideal character, the taste of utilitarianism.

The attempts to reform the schools have been going on in England for some decades; but when I reflect on what I saw of this in the country more than twenty years ago, it still makes upon me the impression of a quiet course that is but little disturbed. At the present time the revolution is all the more powerful. Parliament has taken the matter in hand, and has already developed an

activity which shows its effects in all directions. That it should not as yet have been fruitful everywhere, and that it should not have satisfied the impatience of many even in those quarters where it is progressing rapidly, is very natural. The task—after such a past history of its school system—is extremely arduous and difficult; and those engaged in the subject, justly will not and cannot depart from the English maxim that the changes should not so much at once attempt to create something perfectly new as to link themselves to what exists and transform it in accordance with the spirit of the age, and that gradually. It is confidently expected of the well-tested motive power in the national life, that in due time it will cast off what is decaying in order to replace it by something fresh and better.

The beginning of a school legislation is made; but it was this very beginning that first revealed the difficulties which have to be overcome. Hence in England at present several of the same questions are being discussed, the solution of which is occupying us in Germany. The conditions of general elementary instruction, the question about free schools, the religious instruction in elementary schools and the denominational character of the public schools in general, the relation of the State and the Church to the school, the education of girls, the separation of institutions for general and special education, and several others, are there just as much the subjects of zealous controversy as with ourselves. The question about proper middle schools, *i.e.* about the manner in which the gap between the elementary and the higher schools can be most appropriately filled up, is engaging the attention of Englishmen no less than our own; they too have their question about middle-

class schools, they too dispute about the advantages of the classical and the modern school-instruction, about the value of the study of Latin in the curriculum, and about the most appropriate point where to begin with the ancient languages in this curriculum, etc.; also the question as to the best arrangement in regard to holidays—even the question about orthography is not wanting among them. The fact of these questions arising simultaneously in both countries increases the interest to see how the same subjects will be conceived and treated there. In regard to the main points the questions are such as naturally spring from the general movement of civilization at the present day.

On all sides of the great domain—from the elementary school to the university—things are still in a state of progress, and I may as well say, in a state of ferment; at every point also experiments have been made, and many a thing has been begun which does not bear within itself any guarantee of being able to last. Only in the case of elementary schools a few fixed positions have been gained. It will be a long time before the completion of an organisation of the teaching in the middle and higher schools, and in the universities, can be reported.

In such times—which unmistakably bear the character of a transition-period—it would require longer and calmer observation correctly to estimate the individual phenomena. A few fundamental features of the English system to which I must at once draw attention,—a few exceptions I admit at once,—and from which its merits are derived, and which likewise explain what we, according to our idea, must call defects, may perhaps serve to facilitate the understanding of the question; I can but

recommend you to regard them as general points of view for my subsequent communications.

The red thread that runs through the whole moral view of life of Englishmen is the respect paid to *personal independence*, and to all individual life; this is shown and expected everywhere as if it were inherited by birth in accordance with an inalienable moral law.

One ought, they say, to grant to each individual the *freedom* and the *right to do his own work in his own way.* But as we live in a community, the rights of my freedom cease where those of another begin. There is accordingly no absolute freedom in determining one's own actions. Moreover, an Englishman has enough of political wisdom to know that for the sake of freedom he must sacrifice equality; hence socialistic agitations in general find but little sympathy with the people. Further, his idea of freedom is not so vague as to be irreconcilable with the ready recognition of a higher *authority.* An English teacher told me that when in Berlin he heard a speech (delivered on the occasion of pupils having completed their course at a public school), the conclusion of which was: "Take with you as my last words: Preserve the freedom of your judgment, do not give it up, not even in the face of the highest authority," and he added: "This would be too vague for us, we should think that we ought to give to the young something more positive as a guide on their way." In like manner, a few weeks ago, I heard the late Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, while distributing the prizes at King's College, London, recommend to the young respect for the truths transmitted to them as a sacred inheritance; for that much had already been thought and done before us, and that not every

one could, in everything, begin again at the commencement. Freedom and right are inseparable ideas; and however strongly and vividly an Englishman may feel both, still he assigns a higher place to *duty*. One may hear people reason about this in some such manner as the following. Duty is more ancient than right, the latter presupposes the former; the sense of right and the claim to it does not arise until man feels and knows himself to be an independent being, and consequently it arises after the sense of duty, which has been his guide even before.

It is further a general characteristic of Englishmen to feel a certain *reverence for what has been historically developed* and hallowed by length of time; they cling more tenaciously to what has been transmitted in this manner than is usual on the continent. Hence their institutions often make the impression of a compromise between what is old and what is demanded by the exigencies of the time. It affords a special pleasure to observe among them everywhere the inter-action of the forces of stability and of onward pressure. The sudden transition from the liberal to the present ministry, now nearly three years ago, is therefore described by some as something instinctive; after so many legislative reforms, they say, the desire was to return to a more tranquil course. Even liberalism in England has no inclination to republicanism, but is decidedly royalistic. In the seventeenth century the people seem once for all to have passed through the process of revolutionary transitions in the constitution of the state; the revolution which placed William III. on the throne was the conclusion of the preceding one.

The aversion to what is general in contrast to the matter of fact or the concrete is very striking in the English mode of thought. Although since the year 1870 they have formed somewhat different ideas of us, they may still be heard to speak of the barren soil of German generalities and "so-called ideas" as of something misty. For the same reason they will sometimes ridicule the German's trust in pure theories, as opposed to the realities of life and the actual necessity. You always look at things in the abstract, they say; we have to translate them for ourselves into the particular and palpable. Hence their definitions also, avoiding abstract ideas, often take a realistic turn. For example, they do not easily conceive the idea of *freedom* abstractedly or negatively (freedom from), but straightway give it a real character, and hence do not say it *is*, but it *consists*, either in property, personal security, or locomotive faculty. They have no equivalent word for *Wissenschaft*; for in their ordinary language the terms science and knowledge are entirely different, and we all know what strange use they make of the word philosophy.

The same difference is met with in the domain of politics. With us constitutionalism has not grown historically and gradually as in England, but has been imported ready made from France or Belgium; hence our idea of a constitutional state still has essentially something abstractedly theoretical. Englishmen speak far less about the state, as such, but all the more of the country and the nation; they do not speak of the rights of a citizen, but of those of an Englishman.

The idea of the state has its stages of realisation. England stands midway between the North-American

conception, which still contains an atomistic freedom of the individual, and Continental Europe, which, *e.g.*, in Prussia forms the state into a compact organism, embracing all the ethical objects of the people's life. England can never arrive at that tension of the idea of the state now prevalent with us on the continent, because the individual jealously guards his personal freedom, and yet possesses a thoroughly patriotic heart. But the tendency of the state to extend its powers is unmistakable in England also; it is as if the state had become more conscious of its duties and rights than it formerly was, and as if it now acknowledged that the protection of law is merely a condition of existence, but that much more depends upon the object of existence, even for the interest of the state itself. If the preservation and promotion of the welfare of the community and of the individual—in so far as this benefits the whole—is the task of the government, then Englishmen are still far from generally allowing this power over the individual to the government: the individual must and will take care of himself.

In consequence of the above-mentioned peculiarities, it is a matter of difficulty for Englishmen correctly to comprehend any other nationality and to be just towards it; it has sometimes seemed to me as if they were afraid, on such occasions, of being obliged to deny their own national character. The insular *narrowness*, as they themselves call it, keeps them too closely shut in to be able to arrive at that large-hearted universalism, which in Germany so frequently and so readily connects itself with the Germanic fundamental feature of individualism, that the excess of virtue becomes its opposite.

LETTER III.

The State and the School—Difference in the Historical Development between Prussia and England—Effects of it in the two Countries—Self-Government—Efforts of the Middle-classes in Educational Matters — Actual Condition of English Schools in general.

Edinburgh.

Just as in England parents let their children follow their own inclinations more than is the case with us, so the *state* there, up to within a short period, also allowed *schools* to act freely and to go their own way. Englishmen are proud of the fact that their parental responsibility has never been given over to the authority of the State or the Church. In the matter of elementary schools things have in recent times become different in this respect. I wish you to remember, however, that my observations principally refer to the middle and higher schools.

We can distinguish a threefold relation between the state and the school, and illustrate it at once by referring to three countries: in *England* we have the relation of absolute freedom; in *Belgium* state institutions and private institutions compete with each other, and the latter are under no influence or supervision of the state; in *Prussia*, and in Germany generally, schools are essentially state institutions; for those not supported by the state, but by towns or other private patrons, must, nevertheless, in their arrangements follow the rules generally prescribed by the state. In order to understand these differences one must turn back to the historical

development of the countries mentioned. I will here only compare Prussia and England. The government of both countries has become what it is by opposite paths.

In England the people, led by the aristocracy, have, in the course of centuries, won their free constitution after severe struggles, and it now is a republic with a monarchical head. In Prussia, on the contrary, the formation of the state was brought about by its princes. The Prussian state—not comprised as England, from the beginning, within given natural boundaries—is the product, commencing with small beginnings, of centuries of hard work on the part both of prince and people, for which the latter had first to be educated. And this its princes have managed to do in a masterly manner. In order to keep together that which was given under unfavourable conditions of nature, to extend it and to strengthen it, the state required a military force ready for action, and fixed internal arrangements with trustworthy officers to maintain them. Thus we can easily understand the development of the strict and compact Prussian system of administration and of the three general duties connected with it, the compulsory attendance at school, obligatory military service, and the duty of paying taxes. The state at an early date made use of the school in order to educate the rising generation for its purposes and to prepare its staff of officials; and about the end of last century, in the legislation of the *Allgemeine Landrecht*, it classed all institutions together as belonging to itself, regardless of the origin and the primary purposes of the different institutions, and made itself the sole school-administrator: "Schools are institutions of the state."—The unity of the Prussian school-system is

the result of the absolute monarchical government, such as it has remained down to recent times; the utter want of unity and of connection among English schools is the consequence of the unlimited freedom allowed to all educational institutions.

At the time of the Reformation, and long afterwards, schools in Germany made their arrangements in accordance with the ideas of their founders, and with the wishes of the towns, of course at that time under the advice of the Church. Subsequently the state gradually placed them under the supervision of its central authority, determined the objects of instruction and ordered examinations. Thus a compact system of schools and a fixed organisation took place in the different schools which had stood side by side without any connection. In England this process of organisation has as yet scarcely begun. About the same time when the educational institutions in Prussia became subordinate to the state, the influence of the state in England—so far as it had existed at all—ceased: James II. was the last to make his authority felt in the universities.

The historical development in Prussia, as I have sketched it, must give the impression of violence, and of an interference with the rights of the Church, of the community, and of parents. The history of the state explains this procedure, although it may not be able to justify it in all points, but this is a question I cannot enter upon here.—One of the evils which, as it seems, is inseparable from the control of the state, is the increasing external uniformity of schools, and the repression of private schools, which is the result of the system of granting certain privileges to state schools.

The existence of institutions which act with greater freedom, and can set to work in a pedagogic manner, according to individual requirements, more than is possible in the case of the others, is absolutely to the interest of the public and of the public schools themselves. However, an impartial judgment must admit that the good effects of the guidance and supervision of the state outweigh all other considerations. The true solicitude of the government for its internal and external relations has created in Prussia, in spite of its limited means, a system of schools that is held in universal esteem, and is considered by many to be a model system on account of its actual results.

The existing order of things has gradually, through custom, become so interwoven with the views of the people, that the guardianship of the state is not regarded as an encroachment upon the people's rights, but as a blessing. In England, when, as repeatedly happens, I am asked about the effects of the general compulsory system of schools in Prussia, and whether the people express any dissatisfaction, I can only answer, the people do not feel it at all to be compulsory, they know of no other form, and consider obedience to the state in this matter to be a self-evident duty. I recollect a conversation I had with a well-to-do artisan in Berlin, whose son attended a middle-class school, and was afterwards to carry on his father's business. Upon my question as to whether he approved of his son having at school to learn Latin, which would subsequently be of hardly any use to him, the man replied: "There must be some good in it, my boy likes to learn it; I do not understand anything about it, but we are well governed, and therefore I do

not trouble myself any further about the matter." Now this would in England be considered as a servile state of mind, and the surrendering of his own judgment and will as contemptible. But whether on that account the private judgment requisite to come to a sound determination exists in England in a greater measure is quite a different question.

While in Prussia, in accordance with its idea of the state, the chief care is directed to the security, the growth and the development of the whole, and the individual man is taken into its service for this purpose, in England the greatest importance is attached to the independence and the free action of the individual, in the confident hope that this will be of the highest advantage to the whole.

Who can dispute that in England this contrary principle has borne its good fruit? To help oneself, to be ready to hasten to the assistance of your neighbour, this is manly honour and manly virtue, and this is the root of English *self-government*. In the strict regulation of the continental system of officials, the individual acts as the agent and tool of a higher authority, and is bound by an oath to do his duty: in England the number of men admitted to office in this way is very small; a voluntary undertaking of duties for the general good is much more general than with us; the personal responsibility is indeed greater in this case, but even the greatest responsibility is not to a superior or to him from whom a mandate may have been received—but to the public, to public opinion.

The fruits of this voluntary activity for the common good are just those which we have most plainly before our eyes in the domain of education. As in the case of

the Church, the government in England does not, with a few exceptions in Scotland and Ireland, give a shilling towards the higher schools; they support themselves by their own resources. How grand have been the undertakings of voluntary exertions for the education of the people is sufficiently attested by the activity of two societies formed at the beginning of this century, *The National* and *The British and Foreign School Society* as well as of the *Ragged School Union* (since 1844). The Archbishop of Canterbury was able very recently to declare in the House of Lords, that within the last fifty years £27,000,000 had been laid out by members of the Church of England for the education of the poor.

However, according to the internal laws of human nature, such forces as are presupposed by self-government and the voluntary principle do not always act with the same effect, and it is admitted by Englishmen themselves that at present they are decreasing and insufficient for the existing wants. This has for a long time appeared most distinctly in the management of the poor and of elementary schools. The former compact connection and energetic co-operation have become loosened in many places, partly in consequence of political changes. The individual found himself no longer protected against his own weakness, or supported by the spirit and strength of his associates, as had previously been the case. The reliance on self-help diminished, and the discontent with the old conditions, among others especially with the public and private schools, became greater and greater, and made itself heard. The press did its part to disclose their defects. Descriptions such as those in Dickens's 'Nicholas Nickleby,' and less

caricatured in 'David Copperfield,' likewise helped to pave the way; their effect upon the public was not unlike that of Hogarth's pictures, and, in our own days, the representations of the Turkish atrocities in the English illustrated newspapers.

In short, the belief in the excellence of the old system of schools in England has been shaken in the minds of many; men recognise more and more what is wanted, and see where the shoe pinches. Moreover, they no longer scruple to confess that other countries are in advance of them, and that they have remained behind in the race. Merchants and other men of business have assured me that, with few exceptions, young men who had come to them from German middle-class schools (*Realschulen*) were superior to English apprentices in their knowledge of languages and geography, and in general proved themselves by their school training to have become more useful than English lads of the same age. This is the reason why, at present, boys are frequently sent to Germany to be educated, though they belong almost exclusively to the middle classes, for which there still remains very much to be done.

The desire for better, more numerous and comprehensive educational institutions for the *middle classes* is therefore now much stronger than the desire for lower and higher schools. The different causes of this particular movement will become clear in subsequent letters; one I have just hinted at in mentioning what I was told by business men. For a time Englishmen were heard to express a fear lest other countries with more appropriate and a more extended education, especially Germany, should drive them from the markets of the

world: hence the demand for a better education became a question of honour and self-preservation. In my opinion the parliamentary reforms of 1832 and 1867, and of the municipal reforms, the results of which are becoming more and more manifest, are of still greater importance. In former times it was landed property which determined political questions; now-a-days it is more especially capital, the industrial and money aristocracy. Hence the increased political importance, together with the effects of the absolute freedom of trade, urges the well-to-do middle classes forward in the same direction: the altered position of affairs demands a different mode of culture. The more rapid general movement of our time has likewise enlarged the horizon of many men; their former contentment with simpler relations has given way to a more ambitious striving onward, which very soon leads to the desire of further intellectual culture.

Many things thus combine to invite the state to a co-operation to which it has not been accustomed during the period of vigorous and extensive self-government, nay, to urge it to take the initiative in making administrative arrangements. Such has recently been the case in the attention paid to the poor, to the sanitary affairs of towns, to the cultivation of the arts, and other matters, but probably in no department more than in that of education. Formerly government did not think of interfering either in the administration of counties and towns, or in the affairs of churches and schools, but we now see this happening in many places, and welcomed by the people. It has taken up the struggle, with the approval of many, against the lazy tradition prevailing in the old public schools, and against the selfishness in the disposal

of their funds, nor has it met with any considerable opposition in its measures for raising popular education, which are not very far from making attendance at school compulsory.

We thus witness an exceedingly remarkable limitation of the English idea of the state. The government of the country has evidently been guided by the conviction that while unchecked self-determination has a wholesome effect in those regions of the population where the ethical value of freedom is recognised, and is productive of good for the general objects; it is, on the other hand, dangerous where it can easily degenerate, and by begetting crimes become costly to the community. Hence the ordinances which no longer permit the lower classes to let their children grow up in ignorance and to run wild.

The symptoms of the beginning of a bureaucratic concentration and dependence upon state authority are increasing in England in different departments of public life, while on the other hand simultaneously successful efforts are made in Prussia and Germany to limit the predominating influence of monarchical officialism, which has for a long time rendered good service in promoting the objects of the state—a limitation tending to self-government through the rights possessed by the representatives of the people and by the communities. In the task devolving upon every state of reconciling the demands of the higher and general good with the special interests of the individual, England and Germany are therefore now moving in opposite directions.

But if we except the elementary schools, public instruction in general does not in any way show a progress towards objects clearly recognised and defined. An

extraordinary amount of power, time, and money, is still wasted from a want of plan and unity. Men of intelligence in the country itself, described within my hearing the present condition of the schools in their wavering between freedom and dependence as a state of anarchy. How long will they be willing and able to tolerate it?

It has often appeared to me as if we were facing the question as to which is the lesser and therefore preferable evil: the consequences of the want of connection and fixed rules resulting from the freedom which has hitherto existed, or the dependence on a well-ordered administration?

We of the continent, accustomed to the latter, cannot help wondering how people can be in doubt about it for a single moment. But in England itself, the matter is not so simple, even apart from the practical difficulties in its realisation. One must live in the country, and be familiar with its history, in order to understand how difficult it is to decide such an alternative, seeing that the nation owes so much that is great and good to the voluntary principle. In the contest between freedom on the one hand, and order and regularity on the other, Englishmen will always be inclined to decide in favour of the former. However, in the course of my subsequent remarks, it will perhaps be seen that it is not necessary to adhere to either alternative, but that there is a third possibility, and that owing to the good each contains the contrasts are not irreconcilable.

LETTER IV.

Conflicting Opinions as to what is to be done—The Educational Reformers, the Conservatives, and the Mediators between the two Extremes.

Tarbet, on Loch Lomond.

After a tour through the Scottish lakes, the splendour of which still surrounds me here, I again take up my pen.

That England has entered upon its educational era is clear from many signs observable during a longer residence in the country. The interest in educational questions is alive in all ranks, and has just received a fresh impulse through the last debates in Parliament. Schools and education are an inexhaustible topic of serious discussion, as well as of lighter conversation; the most different and diametrically opposite views have their zealous advocates. I fancy it will be very conducive to my object here to describe the present pedagogic condition of England, allowing the most important of these views to speak for themselves as in a parliament, and to present them to you in the manner in which I have become acquainted with them through personal intercourse, periodicals, and otherwise. Three points of view are easily distinguished: that of the friends of reform, that of their opponents, and that of the mediators between the two.

The call for reform is louder than all others. After what has already been done for elementary education, the condemnation of reformers is directed against the institutions above it, not excluding the ancient universities.

Complaints are now especially heard about the long neglect of the wants of the *middle classes:* the lower classes, it is said, are already taken care of by the government with great liberality, and so are the seminaries for training able teachers; the upper classes are in the enjoyment of the advantages offered by the richly endowed universities and public schools, and in them well prepared and respected teachers are not wanting. But the middle classes are not equally cared for, and here we have the real spot of the missing link in the series of public educational institutions; the instruction here, it is said, is generally left to private speculation, whence the teachers in this class of schools have no share in the respectability of those in the higher public schools. And yet it is the middle classes—so says many a one of their advocates—upon which the hope of the country is based; they lead the lower classes, from them the aristocracy of the upper classes is ever renewed, and they afford the greater prospect of furnishing leading political characters, who are now not often found in the higher ranks. Many talents, it is said, in this and other departments perish from want of culture, owing to which the capability of self-government also is beginning to be wanting, and the freedom of labour in all departments will not become a reality until it ceases to be crippled by ignorance.

It is proposed and regarded as a fair demand that, as after all the middle classes contribute most to that which is expended by the state for the advantage of the lower classes, the state should also take the middle classes under its care; that it should at least erect a sufficient number of houses for middle-class schools, over which it

might reserve to itself the right of inspection; and that for the rest, a large influx of pupils being almost certain, these institutions would be able to support themselves by means of the school-fees, though they might be fixed at a moderate rate. Others are of opinion that the state, as in the case of elementary schools, should take into its own hands the whole question of middle-class schools and organise them according to its own views.

Mere institutions for instruction, a small number of which have recently been established, are not considered satisfactory by some people: they say the question is not only about acquiring knowledge, but it is of far greater importance that the youths of these classes also, by a community of life and exertion, such as the higher orders enjoy at the public schools, should become accustomed to independent and manly ways, self-control and proper conduct. For this reason they say larger boarding schools ought to be founded with simple arrangements, so as not to be too expensive for parents.

Fault-finders censure not a few arrangements in the higher schools, and their censure easily becomes an unjust accusation. The public schools, they say, and the universities are the cause of our material having outrun our intellectual progress; the majority of young men bring from these institutions only ignorance, indolence, and love of pleasure; they are ignorant of what they ought to know at their age; and if such questions as, for example, about some natural phenomenon is discussed, they appear as helpless as they are wanting in interest. The inquiries recently made about public and grammar schools have shown a lamentable result; the curriculum is limited and antiquated, paying no regard to the pro-

gress of the age and the requirements of the time; more attention is paid to the body than to the mind; and as the subjects of instruction, so the traditional method of instruction is unfruitful, devoid of stimulating power, awakens no interest, and creates no elasticity either of thought or judgment.

The old universities, according to the condemnatory opinion of the same party, have forgotten their duty; they have become unproductive places of intellectual indolence, and a capital opportunity even for wealthy individuals to gain sinecures from foundations intended for the poor. Young men, they say, neither learn there to work systematically, nor do they acquire any taste for philosophical inquiries; they are either left to their noble passions—"under the name of education, it is simply the purchase of three years' more or less agreeable residence at an expensive club,"—or are pedantically trained to acquire university titles of doubtful value. In short, the results are glaringly disproportionate to the enormous sums spent upon the education of young Englishmen: "There is no department of human energy in which there is such a pretentious display of power with such a beggarly amount of result."

If some of these sharp critics are asked how things are to be improved, they no longer hesitate to answer: we must cease to be slaves to our idea of independence, and to our national pride; what is the use of freedom to a nation if it is uneducated? We require, for the administration of all our scholastic affairs, a central guiding authority, standing above parties, and we ought not to be ashamed to learn a lesson from other nations.

In fact, the aversion formerly so general against every

interference of the government in this department has greatly decreased. The institution of a special Minister of Instruction has repeatedly been brought before Parliament (1856, 1862, 1868, 1874), hitherto, it is true, without success; but I am convinced that it is only a question of time. The superiority of other countries in matters of education is readily acknowledged by some, who speak with great respect of Germany, and particularly of Prussia, as they have somewhat corrected their conceptions of it through the reports of their countrymen who have visited us and examined matters with their own eyes. Such men do not hesitate to recommend some of our institutions as models for imitation.

Those utterly opposed to the reformers cling with English tenacity to the old tradition. They plead their cause somewhat in this way: if you take from us our faults, you also take from us our virtues. Do not meddle with our old custom, they say; every new school arrangement takes away a piece of old England; for in what country are the higher schools and universities, such as they are, so deeply rooted in the national life as with us? You want to change our public schools into establishments for acquiring knowledge; but they are institutions for the education of "gentlemen," for propagating "English feeling," and honourable sentiments, an education which knows how to unite freedom with order, and independence with respect for public opinion. This is the reason why they, like our two old universities, whose educational problem is the same, are of such great importance to the welfare of the country. Our young men make the most favourable impression upon all foreigners; not

only have the ambassadors from Japan expressed their admiration, but from Persia, France, and Italy, princes have been sent to us for education; they would scarcely have been intrusted to a German Gymnasium.

Our public schools are very unequal, it is true, and one is perhaps little efficient in one department, and another in another; but in place of its defects it has also its advantages, and each in its own way contributes to the great general result—to give to the young an English education, for the honour and advantage of the country. Nor is it to be regretted that in some institutions the boys are less interested in books than in games and sports, in cricket and boat-races, which strengthen their limbs. What they there neglect in Greek and Latin is fully counterbalanced by the word of the Duke of Wellington—an alumnus of Eton—who, when once re-visiting that school, and passing through the play-ground, said: "It was here that the victory of Waterloo was won!"

But if you point to the small amount of knowledge which most pupils of the public schools carry away with them after so many years of school-life, we reply that it is not our intention to urge them on to zealous study; after their years at school, they have to work their way up the steep mountain of life; it would be foolish to make them exert themselves at the very foot in such a manner as to weaken their physical strength and elasticity, and to damp their animal spirits. You further forget that the close of the school curriculum is not the place for determining the value of a school; the right place for forming such an estimate is to be looked for farther on in life itself, where the personal qualities

developed at school have to be tested, as is said in the proverb: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." To this the opponents naturally reply: it is life itself and its present altered demands, by which we form our estimate, and find that our youths are behindhand; and if we do not advance simultaneously with the demands of the time, time will leave us behind. And how shortsighted is it after all, when you consider that firmness of character, public spirit, and kindred qualities, which a man gives proof of in life, are described as merits of the school which he attended when a boy, whereas public life and the other circumstances through which he has passed have probably contributed the greatest and best part. Why are you not equally ready to set down the faults of the man to the account of the school?

The same class of opponents in general form a low estimate of the value of knowledge: man, they say, is wholly man only in action, and can it be that the strongest motives for action have their origin in knowledge? It is not what a man knows that determines his place in the world, but what he does. Everyone must learn by his own experience what is best and most serviceable to him; and the superiority of one man over another will always consist in the culture which the individual gives to himself, and not in the results of his school learning. The only useful education, therefore, is that which leads the pupil to learn and to act for himself. Most men are limited by nature to a few thoughts which they have to realise; to lead them into distant regions renders them unpractical and unhappy. Many a one has learned more than he has been able to bear and to digest, and has thereby become more awkward than he

originally was, according to the measure of his natural gifts. This is the sense in which the Duke of Wellington is said, on one occasion, to have answered a young man who wished some appointment under him, and wanted to prove his ability by theoretical expositions, for after having listened to him for a while, the Duke said: "I can make no use of you, you are over-educated for your intellect."*

The efforts to raise the lower and middle classes of the population by better school-instruction is further met by the following consideration. You assert that the discrepancy between the political rights of these classes and their ability to recognise and promote the true welfare of the community, must be neutralised by increased culture; but you can scarcely have formed a clear idea of what is understood by this. If you think of intelligence only, you are on the wrong track; intelligence can make one cleverer but not more cultivated, nor better, nor can it supply an energetic will; it can afford no substitute for religious culture and habits, which are far more necessary to the young, and are the only basis for educating them to true freedom. But as regards your desire for schools for the children of the middle classes, you imagine the thing to be more easy than it really is. You overlook the difference of the claims which are made upon them, according to the social position of the parents, and the different callings for which they destine their sons. Do you really be-

* This may serve as a commentary on the following passage in A. Tennyson's poem on the death of the Duke:

"Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life."

lieve that the demands of tradesmen, clerks, farmers, yeomen, &c., will agree among themselves? Nor is it a matter of indifference that their children become more and more estranged to the class to which they belong. Even now the consequence of this education is, that applications for an appointment with a small salary are becoming more frequent in comparison with the requests to be received into the different trades. In the latter, a want of applicants is already beginning to be felt, while the market where clerks and such persons are required is over-stocked. Much school-learning is the most unsuitable preparation for an English man of business, it destroys his proper taste for it. Still worse than in the case of boys is the effect of your increased culture upon girls, who have then no longer any desire to enter into service. And what is it after all that you have attained? Nothing but outward appearance and superficiality. If things go on in this way, our civilisation is threatened by a despotism of mediocrity; have we not already enough to suffer under the levelling influences of the age of railroads?

I have also met with individual instances in which men raised their warning voices against favouring efforts directed towards the acquisition of knowledge, especially of the natural sciences, rather than towards sounder mental culture, because, they said, the final object with most men is, after all, only to gain more and more easily in this way—to make money: modern realism conceals within itself a danger to the life of the nation. Cotton and coals are useful things, and so is money; but to direct one's mind to them exclusively has something degrading, and prevents the cultivation of nobler quali-

ties; it ends at last in the worship of the god Mammon, who in England is already worshipped more than enough, and more than the true God. This reminded me of what Schleiermacher says of Englishmen in his discourses on religion: "These proud Islanders treat nothing seriously that goes beyond the tangible profit: they kill science, and only use its dead wood for the masts and oars on the voyage through their gain-loving life."

Connected with the above is the fear entertained by many lest the study of the ancient classics should be displaced by an education *ad hoc*, which even at school has an eye to the professional aims of later life. They wish this study to be adhered to at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in all the higher schools, as the main subject, and as a protection against the barbarism of a realism devoid of ideas. The zeal with which many still vindicate for the study of the ancient languages—in spite of the often small results of the time and labour spent upon them—the principal place in the curriculum of all higher schools, may be compared with the determination with which others wish to preserve the strictness of the English Sunday, which after all is very often only external. The common motive of both is the wish to have a bulwark against the influences of a restless activity which otherwise absorbs the whole man and threatens in the end to deaden all his interest in higher and spiritual things.

But the time when the ancient classics still formed an essential part of the intellectual food of every educated man seems to have passed away in England as well as elsewhere. Nowadays no one quotes Horace in Parliament, which was formerly not unfrequently done: even Mr. Gladstone scarcely ever does it. A teacher openly confessed to me:

"We must not deceive ourselves, our youths have drawn their knowledge and their ideas of the ancient world not from the original sources, but rather from manuals and translations." But still this is no reason for not insisting strictly upon the study of the two ancient languages. I once heard a member of Parliament replying to an opponent of classical studies: we now live rapidly, we have more to hear and to say, and must settle many things in less time than before. This has its influence upon the language; it is frequently abused for semblances of truth; often no clearness of thought answers to the rapidly uttered word. It is therefore of great and even of moral advantage to our youth to pass through a strict and logical practice of the ancient languages, especially Latin, provided it is taught in the proper manner.

Those who place their hope on the state for better schools are occasionally met by English pride declaring that this way would tend to disgrace free England, and to weaken a national virtue. Such men would abandon school affairs to the confused pretensions of the public rather than entrust them to the regulating hand of the state. To educate the people, they say, is no more the business of the state than it is to feed them. Improvements, so far as they are necessary and possible, must be left to independent local action, to self-help, voluntary efforts; then, and then only, will that which is new, both in the schools and the teachers, be respected and cared for; but the other mode of proceeding will be viewed with distrust, and the willingness to give or assist on the part of the public will cease, or be greatly diminished, when once the schools are under state management. If the state once takes everything under its control, then good-bye to all

originality in the conception and management of scholastic affairs. All the great schoolmasters have belonged to times and to countries, in which the state had not yet laid its hands on public school affairs. What its guardianship may lead to can be seen on the continent, where people place so much reliance on the state that it has become a kind of Providence to them. The people there have become so unaccustomed, in case of distress, to have recourse above all things to self-help, that on the occurence of any calamity, *e.g.* of fire, water, bad harvest and the like, they demand the help of the state; self-reliance, readiness to make sacrifices, and the efforts of the communities and other corporations are therefore very feeble, and are not brought into action except with great trouble and difficulty.

I have always been the more surprised at this jealousy and distrust of the state in England, because there, more than anywhere else, the government represents and carries out the popular will.

The same adherents of the old English ways, when looking at the German management of schools, do indeed admit not only that sound learning and a desire for knowledge as such are more common in Germany, but also that there exists a more thorough and a more widely diffused general school culture than in England. But, they say, the same things are not suited for all, a thing may be good in itself, but is not on that account good for us: we have got what we want, not the best thing perhaps, it may be, but the best thing for us. Do you wish, they ask, that we too should burden ourselves with the heavy load of learning, as is usually the case in Germany, and that we should thus run the same risk of

weakening the productive mental independence of our nation? The young in every country must be educated according to its circumstances. With us, young men enter upon public life earlier than they do on the continent. How many, when they have scarcely left the age of boyhood, are obliged to go out into the wide world, to India, to the colonies, or any other distant part of the earth! Their fitness for this, their ability to stand on their own legs, to look around them with freedom, to form a resolution, to take the initiative, and to act on their own responsibility, would be diminished by a school training like that of Germany, where, though the horizon has become enlarged by limiting the powers of the smaller states, youths may be burdened too heavily for their journey through life within their narrower sphere. As Germans in general, they say, even in their public life, rely more upon knowledge and reflection than upon practical life and habits, so they over-estimate school-learning, while we attach greater importance to a training by national custom and indirect means of education; and we do not wish to alter this state of things.

The often repeated reference to Prussia is to many specially offensive. One still meets with the strangest notions about the external and internal administration of that country: it is nothing, they say, but a bureaucracy and a tyrannical government-mechanism; the cause of this, the military character of the whole state, has become a necessity on account of its situation between two such neighbours as France and Russia, but the consequence is that the whole of the life of the people has fallen into absolute dependence upon the state-power and militarism. Some gentleman who had travelled in Prussia to make

himself acquainted with its scholastic arrangements, exclaimed within my hearing: "In the first year the state vaccinates you, in the sixth it sends you to school, in the twentieth it drafts you into the army; and when I saw that every school in regard to military privileges belongs to a special paragraph in its military system, I was reminded of the tablets on which one may read at the entrance of every town or village the name of the military district to which it belongs."

It is difficult to make an Englishman understand, *e.g.*, the advantages and beneficial consequences of the universal obligation to serve in the army, and many do not like to be reminded of the fact that they too now have a strict vaccination law, and that obligatory attendance at school is already introduced into a large number of towns of their country. Others again imagine that the striving after mental culture in Germany, and especially in Prussia, by a continual sceptical criticism of what exists, prevents the accumulation of a proper amount of positive knowledge and fosters discontent with the actual state of things; that a tendency to criticise is there developed wholly disproportionate to the power of individual judgment and of the individual will. Among teachers also I met with many prejudices against the Prussian school regime: "The administration is no doubt attentive and careful," said an assistant master in a grammar school, "and the authorities may be humane towards the teachers; but the feeling that you are controlled from above and are dependent would be intolerable to us."

The disagreement among the schoolmasters themselves as to the path to be pursued in introducing reforms acknowledged to be necessary adds not a little to the

confusion which at present pervades the whole question of school education in England. With the pretension of infallibility some claim precedence or even an exclusive place in a school curriculum for religious, others for secular instruction, others for the ancient, others for modern languages, and others again for the natural sciences or mathematics, &c., and speak with something like contempt of all the rest. In Germany more progress has indeed been made towards reconciling the hostile parties, but we are still far from having effected a peaceful settlement.

In what I have said before, I have mainly allowed the two opposing parties to express their own views. The number of those who occupy an intermediate position between them is not small. Suffice it to report, that they are not disinclined to give up a part of the independence of the schools to the state, and to recognise a higher power of administration. They demand a better organisation of the schools, and a better method of teaching, but they deprecate an increase in the subjects of instruction, and will not consent to any change in the curriculum, which is opposed to the spirit of the well tried English national education, or which might put the pupil in a position unsuited to his later objects in life and render him incapable or unwilling to enter upon the struggle of life which every one must pass through. Nor do they wish to put any force upon parents in the free disposal of their children. Hence, without breaking with the past, they wish to improve that which has been handed down to them, and develop it according to the exigencies of the time.

In this spirit actual progress is making in different

directions; but the secular and ecclesiastical, the local and central authorities are still far from being agreed upon a plan that is to be carried out with consistency: the vague subjective demands of individuals and the claims of the community based upon reason and the nature of things are still not reconciled.

LETTER V.

Varied Activity in scholastic Affairs—Provisions of the Government and Independent private Undertakings.

Tarbet.

THE people of England have not waited till the controversies mentioned in my last letter were settled: they have acted. As soon as an idea of reform is there generally felt to be the expression of a recognised want, a resolution is soon formed and the means procured. It rarely happens in England that, when defects in public affairs are laid bare in meetings or other discussions, these are only followed by wearisome and discouraging delays; as a rule the refreshing effect of such discussions is action. In this manner the people with its peculiar energy proceeded, and the education question soon took precedence in the public transactions; for a long time this question had been obliged to give way to many others, but as yet it has not been permanently driven back from *that* position. It is very pleasant to glance back upon the last decades in this respect: there arose a rivalry between the organs of the state and private persons, to establish or prepare more suitable arrangements in the whole domain of education. Many things are gratefully traced to impulses

given by the late Prince Consort. I shall not here inquire whether in some instances the people have not taken the second step before the first, whether in their first zeal they have not advanced too rapidly without sufficiently considering whether the time had arrived for this or that measure, and whether the wish and the desire soon to make up for past neglects, have not sometimes preferred to *create* something instead of allowing it to *grow organically*. This side of the question will not remain unnoticed in my further communications.

In *elementary education*, where at first it was most needed, they have acted without hesitation and most effectually. The action of the government and of Parliament in this respect has had extraordinary effects. The question demands a special discussion, to which I mean to devote a future letter, so far as the subject in general lies within the limits of my plan. I will here only make the following remarks:

The state everywhere came to the help of those who could not help themselves. Long before the Church and the large school societies mentioned before had supported elementary instruction as far as they could, the state in the year 1833 for the first time came to its assistance with a grant of money. The grant (chiefly for the building of school-houses) amounted then, according to Lord Althorp's proposal, to 30,000*l.* (20,000*l.* for England and Wales, and 10,000*l.* for Scotland). Since then the grant for elementary schools from the public treasury has been increased every year. In 1874 it amounted, inclusive of the expenses of administration and inspection, to 2,228,470*l.*, in 1875 for the schools alone, to 1,548,563*l.*, and in 1876 to 1,707,055*l.*

In how comprehensive a spirit the problem of popular education has been conceived in recent times is clear above all from the fact that the education question became at once connected with the question of dwellings, and the latter again with the question of communication, in accordance with the circumstances of the large cities in England, and especially of London itself. It was desired not to separate the education at school from the previous condition of domestic habits of order and cleanliness. Houses for the working classes, accordingly, had to be built, for which room could be found only in the wide surroundings of the cities. The work was soon begun, and the combined efforts of Parliament and of enterprising philanthropical private societies have produced, in a comparatively short time, astonishing changes. It always gave me pleasure in the suburbs of London to see the long rows of such dwellings, notwithstanding their monotony: innumerable small houses, each calculated for one family, mostly with a little garden attached, like the *cité ouvrière*, *e.g.*, near Mühlhausen in Alsace. Barracks for workmen are very rarely met with. These houses are let to workmen at a moderate rent. But as the houses would be unsuitable to them unless they were within easy access to the places of their occupations in town, arrangements have been made for running special cheap railway trains. By these arrangements and other architectural changes, London has been immensely improved notwithstanding its continued extension, owing to which it can even now no longer be called a town, but a large densely peopled tract of country: the statistics of its rate of mortality show that it is now a more healthy place than many other large cities.

The interest in the cause of popular education has not decreased in the course of years either in Parliament or in the towns; of this I had opportunities of convincing myself, among other things, by the kind of discussions which I have repeatedly attended both in Parliament and at the London School Board. The result is in general satisfactory. Most of the elementary schools are attended by large numbers of children, and as regards England, the remark which the American Minister, Mr. George Bancroft, made to me some years ago in Berlin, is no longer true. In America, he said, many are educated at the expense of a few, in England, a few at the expense of many, in Germany alone matters are fairly balanced.

The grand provision made by the government, for the present confined to elementary schools, has been increased by sympathising and liberal private efforts. The gap between the lower and higher schools is already filled up in several places by *middle-class schools*. I will mention but one example of the manner in which such objects are attained in England.

In the year 1866 a London gentleman, whose heart was moved by the distress of parents who did not wish to send their sons into elementary or bad private schools, and could not send them to the expensive public schools, assembled a number of men of similar feelings, and with them drew up a plan of a cheap middle-class school. Thereupon they applied to several wealthy persons, especially merchants and bankers, with the request to assist them in carrying out their plan, and in a short time 40,000*l.* were subscribed. I have become personally acquainted with the institution (Cowper Street, City Road); during this summer it was attended by 1300

pupils. The society which founded it, *The Corporation for Middle-class Education in the Metropolis and the Suburbs thereof*, intends to proceed in a similar way in other parts of London.*

Some of the guilds also have lately established similar middle-class schools in London and other towns. We may expect that others will follow in London if the efforts of the "City Guilds Reform Association" are successful in restoring the funds, parts of which have been applied to other objects, to their original educational purpose. In other already existing schools separate classes for objects similar to those of middle-class schools have been added. In this manner day schools, the sole object of which is to give instruction, have been much increased in number, by the side of the numerous boarding establishments. I might mention not a small number of grammar schools which have been established within the last twenty years, and are mainly constituted as middle-class schools. The South Kensington Museum also has done much by lectures and otherwise to promote instruction in practical matters.

Among the recent associations for founding schools, I

* "The intention is, to provide for boys who are destined for commercial life, such liberal course of instruction as shall be most useful to them hereafter, as well as to educate them in those habits of thought and discipline which will best ensure their future success. The course of instruction will include the English language and literature, history and commercial geography, mathematics, surveying, arithmetic, writing, book-keeping, chemistry, drawing (engineering and architectural), French, and vocal music; also the elements of physical science.—Classes for Latin, German, Hebrew, shorthand, home-lessons, advanced drawing, and violin, are held immediately after school-hours on special but easy terms.—The terms, strictly inclusive for all other advantages of the school, are twenty-five shillings per quarter (paid in advance)."

will only mention the corporation of *Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas*, which has considerable funds at its disposal; it proposes to provide in five different districts of the country public school education on the principles of the Church of England, according to the wants of the different classes, and has already called into existence several institutions. An "Association for the Promotion of Secondary Education in Scotland" has been formed quite recently.

During the last few years much attention and support has also been given to the long neglected education of females. Associations for it, as well as for the promotion of other educational objects, have been formed in several places, especially for the benefit of those not possessing ample means. Among these are Literary and Scientific Institutes, Mechanics' Institutions, evening classes for adults, &c. There is now scarcely a town that does not possess such institutions, and the wealthy classes are generally very liberal in providing them with teaching apparatus, maps, photographs, and the like. Nor are there wanting new foundations and funds for the support of poor boys of talent.—There is scarcely any public school without its scholarships, school and university bursaries, or exhibitions. The Charterhouse School has now sixty scholarships (thirty for boys of the ages between twelve and fourteen, amounting to 60*l.* each, and thirty for boys between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, amounting to 80*l.* each). The guilds of the goldsmiths, grocers, fishmongers, broderers, skinners, and glass-sellers, have, during the last few years, contributed towards the exhibitions of the City of London School, to induce youths to proceed to the universities.

Sunday schools have been greatly extended, and are not limited to children or to religious instruction. The following circumstance may serve as a proof of the kindly and ready disposition to do good to these and similar schools. When the head of such an institution appeals to the public to enable him to give an outing to his many poor children, the appeal is scarcely ever made in vain. My impression is that Englishmen are decidedly kindly disposed towards schools.

The *conferences of head-masters* are also deserving of notice as a sign of the united pedagogic efforts among the teachers themselves. For some years past the head-masters of many of the higher schools have met at different places towards the end of December to deliberate on matters of common interest. The *College of Preceptors* in London has greatly extended its sphere of action during the last few years. Chairs of pedagogics have recently been established in the universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and in London a society has been formed for the development of the science of education.

Later on I shall have occasion to say more upon the subjects I have here briefly mentioned, as well as upon the great influence already exercised by the inquiries ordered by the government into the constitution, the functions, the property, and the administration of the public schools of every kind, as well as of many private institutions. The universities are not exempted from these general inquiries, and it is well known that many restrictions formerly imposed upon attendance at the universities have already been removed.

Other important government measures are connected with the intention to raise the general standard of culture,

especially in the civil and military services. I allude to the abolition of the system of purchasing places in the army, and to the regulation that, after the abolition of former privileges, the career in the civil and military services is open to all, and that appointments are given only according to the results of competitive examinations.

I will close these hints about the great activity which has for some years prevailed upon the whole wide domain of education in England, with the report of a conversation. It was an agreeable surprise to me at an evening party in London, to meet an English lady whose acquaintance I had made at Rome. After a long sojourn in Italy she had also spent some years in Germany, and by this means she had enlarged her intellectual horizon and acquired a fine understanding and appreciation of national peculiarities, more so than many of her countrymen do during their travels on the continent. "Sometimes," she said, "I feel like a stranger in my own country; the early acquired seriousness of my countrymen makes me uneasy; they all agree, without expressing it, that it is necessary, not only to practise inward self-control, but to suppress all outward signs of feeling; they claim such a large measure of freedom for life, and yet put on themselves so much social restraint. Oh, if they had but a little of the *disinvoltura* of the Italians and the heartfelt (*gemüthvollen*) sympathy of the Germans! But we have not even a word for *Gemüth*. This is beyond the question about pedagogics. But otherwise pedagogics are now *en vogue* among us; you have come at the right time. I am delighted at this general movement which has already successfully stimulated many energies and produced beneficial effects, though in some directions its course may be without

definite objects and results. Pedagogic enthusiasts, for example, have suddenly imported among us their *Kindergarten*, and in their hurry have taken the name together with the thing; we have the Kindergarten system, Kindergarten teachers, Kindergarten examinations, and even a Fröbel Society. But the thing is as un-English as possible. All modes of taking care of children and guarding them for families which cannot do it themselves, are certainly deserving of praise; and infant schools may learn much that is good from the Kindergarten; but to undertake this care for families which are well able to educate their children, to make them sit still, and among other things to teach them to play systematically and rationally, &c., instead of leaving them to their own pleasure and fancy and allowing them to grow up like the flowers of the field and the trees of the forest—this is a pedagogic importunity which I would keep far away from my house; I hope the affair may not be lasting in England."

These expressions were to me as unexpected as they were welcome.

LETTER VI.

Survey of the whole domain of the Higher Schools and their differences in Degree and Kind—The Universities.

Whitby, in Yorkshire.

NOWHERE has the distribution of the higher schools over the country been made with that regularity with which, for example, a garden is laid out: everywhere the free historical development has produced great inequalities,

but nowhere is the inequality of the distribution as great as in England. In some parts schools of the most different kinds exist in close proximity, whereas large districts are entirely without any. Whence, on surveying the whole, we at first receive the impression of a scattered variety without order. At the same time, however, if we do not take into consideration mere private enterprise and pedagogic industry, we are filled with admiration at the many great things which the love for the young and the interest in their education have done in England during past centuries. In no country in the whole world have so many foundations for this object been made, partly by individuals and partly by associations. The higher schools in England proper have almost exclusively sprung from such an origin; nowhere, moreover, as I had occasion to mention in my last letter, is the number and the amount of scholarships and similar bequests founded for the attendance at schools and universities as large as in England; it is proportionately much smaller in Scotland. This does not, however, prove that the higher instruction is sufficiently provided for, and in comparison with Prussia, for example, one higher school exists in England only for a much larger number of inhabitants.

It is impossible to make an accurate statistical calculation of the proportion of the number of higher schools to the population or to the area of the different parts of the country, partly because there is no fixed definition of a higher school, and partly because no distinct lines of demarcation can be drawn either between the higher, the middle, and elementary schools, or between them and the universities. It will soon be clear that on both sides the limits are fluctuating. I will now endeavour to give an out-

line of the whole domain of the higher schools in England, and to indicate characteristics for making a division.

I reckon among them all those institutions whose aims are higher than those of the elementary schools, which, independent of religious instruction, satisfy the humblest wants by instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Instruction in foreign languages will therefore be one of the characteristic marks of a higher school. The most obvious differences in England as elsewhere are those of degree and kind. I will first give a general survey of both, and then add a few observations on the different forms comprised in them.

According to the degree and extent of the offered means of higher education, the *Elementary school* is succeeded first by the *Middle-class school*, corresponding to the German town-schools, higher *Bürgerschulen* and *Pro-Gymnasia;* and further on, the *Public and Grammar schools*, which correspond to the German *Gymnasia* and *Realschulen*. Next follow the *Collegiate Institutions* and *University Colleges*, whose character is a mixture of school and university, or comprise both forms though separated from each other. Lastly, the *Universities* themselves and the special institutions for future clergymen, lawyers, and medical men.

The difference in degree of the institutions here mentioned, however, is intended to give only what actually exists, and not a graduation in the course of study.

Among the numerous differences in kind I mention first those of *sex:* they are higher institutions both for boys and for girls, and mixed ones for both; according to their *origin* they are church-schools, town-schools, foundations, endowed schools, charities and others; according to their

destination for *education* and *instruction*, or for the latter only, they are boarding and day schools; according to their *course of study* they are either of a classical or of a realistic tendency, and those in which there is a combination of both; they may further be distinguished according to their *denominational character;* according to their *patronage* and *property:* public, proprietary, private schools; according to *local destinatian*, inasmuch as a school may be specially or exclusively destined for a single locality or for a larger district (county schools); and lastly according to *ranks:* for the upper and middle classes, in which the difference of *expense* for instruction and education is an important item. A special kind of schools which have arisen in modern times are the so-called *international* schools.

As in regard to the difference of degree, so also in regard to the difference of kind, there are of course schools which may be said to stand on the borderland. Such are the professional schools whose course of study also embraces general instruction, for example, polytechnic, agricultural and military schools.

Following upon the whole the above order, I will now add some remarks about the special kinds of schools and the circumstances connected with them.

That the domain of *Elementary schools* is not strictly separated from that of the higher instruction is shown by the subjects prescribed to them by the government as well as by the traditional custom prevailing in all parts of the country, but especially in Scotland; everywhere the curriculum in particular institutions also embraces elements of higher instruction, at least, as optional subjects. The schools of the National and the British Society in their higher classes partake of the

character of middle-class schools; and the elementary schools, called after Dr. Birkbeck their founder, (without religious instruction), include in their curriculum also French, chemistry, experimental philosophy, social science, &c., and are in reality preparatory technical schools.

A classification of schools is least possible in *Scotland*. The parish-school system is there the foundation of public schools. John Knox connected the necessity of popular education with the reformation of the Church, and this circumstance gave rise at an early time to a sort of compulsory school attendance throughout the country. The subjects in parochial schools are everywhere reading, writing, arithmetic, biblical knowledge, the shorter catechism, and Latin; but in many places various other subjects also have been admitted, such as Greek, mathematics, physics, technology, and even phrenology. The elementary schools advance into the domain of the higher, and the latter are at the same time general schools.* The eagerness to learn has always been very great in

* In an official report of last year we read: "Parochial schools are attended by children who ought to be in infant schools, and what are called infant schools are attended by big boys and girls, who ought to be in more advanced schools. The Burgh and middle-class schools, in like manner, which might be expected to be secondary, combine in themselves infant, elementary, and secondary schools. Sometimes in the same class-room, and taught by the same master, there are boys and girls of fifteen and sixteen years of age, reading, it may be, Homer and Virgil and Racine, and alongside of them infants under six years of age, learning their letters and their multiplication table, and young men of eighteen and twenty, who, according to age, ought to be in the universities. There is no uniformity or organisation throughout the country, but schools have been left just as they have grown up, or old schools have been amalgamated with new, so that the general result is a sort of ill-ordered patchwork, and the great marvel is, how much good comes out of this disorder."

Scotland; in the seventeenth century the work at school lasted in some places up to ten hours daily.

A school-inspector told me that on one of his last journeys, he asked, in a village school in the Highlands, whether any of the children learned the ancient languages, whereupon several boys and girls rose from their seats; that a girl who stepped forward barefoot, gave a good translation of a chapter from Julius Cæsar, and solved a geometrical problem accurately; the teacher then sent for his best scholar, who, with his permission, happened to be engaged in the fields; the boy came in with the traces of his work on his hands and feet; the teacher handed him a copy of Virgil and of Xenophon's Anabasis, and the inspector told me that the boy translated satisfactorily the passages selected by him. He added that he had met with similar cases in other village schools.

Things of this kind appear interesting to us when we hear or read of them, and we rejoice at the zeal of these children, but we cannot approve of it for various reasons, especially for the sake of the school itself. In the country such things are exceedingly popular; even the humble and poor, it is said, are not to be excluded from the higher culture if they can anywhere obtain it. The whole Scottish school system has something of this romantic irregularity; although the people generally are much inclined to turn their attention to what is practical and useful, still serious, nay ideal aspirations and great perseverance pass by the immediate wants almost without concern.*

* I have just read in the *Hamilton Advertiser*, a Scottish newspaper, the following remarks in an account of a cattle-show in Aberdeen:

Middle-class schools are chiefly intended to provide, without great expense, the necessary instruction for such occupations as do not require the studies of a university. In most of them Latin also is taught; and the honour of having prepared pupils so far as to enable them to enter a university is in the eyes of many too great a recommendation of a school to be indifferent about it, though in our opinion it would be better if the school confined itself to the special task marked out for it. The middle-class schools recently established in London likewise go beyond their first intentions, and offer among other things Greek and even Hebrew, mostly without increasing the school fee, and make a show of individual pupils who have actually succeeded in getting into a university.

The Scotch *Borough schools* are town-schools, and

"There seems to be very little connection between the reading of Cæsar's Gallic Wars and the rearing of prize bulls, between the knowledge of how the Roman State was founded and how black cattle are fed; but the intellectual sharpness produced in a boy by the study of Roman literature, is an excellent preparation for enabling him, as a man, not only to rear cattle, but to cultivate the soil, navigate the sea, manufacture and sell goods, lead armies, fight battles, and guide the destinies of nations. Does anybody believe that if the young Aberdonians had been taught botany, geology, astronomy, or any, or two of the so-called practical subjects, they would have been more skilled cattle-breeders, more intelligent agriculturists? Would the mental effort necessary to appreciate the formation of cellular tissue in plants, or that required for understanding the construction of a language for the expression of men's thoughts, be the more invigorating? There is surely as much interest connected with the utterance of human thought and the doings of men, as with the growth of plants and the knowledge of their properties. We do not mean to undervalue the study of what are called practical subjects, but we are sure that, as instruments of general intellectual training, they are not superior to the studies that have helped to produce the hard-headed, close-fisted, argumentative, and intensely practical Aberdonians."

according to the extent of their course of instruction are either middle-class schools with the before-mentioned half elementary character, or public or grammar schools in the English sense. This next higher sphere of *secondary instruction*, as it is called in England and France, is, for the reasons mentioned, least developed in Scotland. John Knox indeed recognised the necessity of establishing colleges between the parochial schools and the universities; but this part of his plan was not carried out; and it is only the larger cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow that possess schools which can be compared to the German gymnasia. The inhabitants of other places frequently send their sons to England, if they desire to give them a higher education. In Scotland great efforts are made at present to render secondary schools as a speciality more independent; I have mentioned in my last letter the association which has been formed for this purpose.

The definition of a *Public school* is not fixed; the name is traditionally given—somewhat in the sense in which in Germany Schulpforte is called Landesschule—to a small number of the oldest schools, especially Winchester, Eton, Westminster (which are connected by special foundations with colleges at Oxford and Cambridge), Harrow, Rugby and Charterhouse, which properly speaking, belong to the genus grammar school, because instruction in the two ancient languages constitutes the principal part of their teaching, and they are all intended to prepare pupils for the Universities. But the name *Grammar schools* is generally applied in a wider sense only to the smaller public schools; many grammar schools moreover have no arrangements for boarders.

College is another general name for these institutions; in Scotland they are also called High Schools and Academies; and the name public school has there a different meaning, for since the Educational Act for Scotland was passed in 1872, the name is given to all the institutions, parochical as well as endowed and grammar schools, which are under the management of School Boards. I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of the division of endowed schools made by the government into institutions of the first, second, and third grade.

University Colleges exist, *e.g.*, at Liverpool, Bristol, and Aberystwith in Wales. The older institutions of this class, especially Owens College at Manchester, have a tendency to become independent universities, but have as yet not been able to obtain the right to confer academical degrees. The teachers of Owens College are also employed in an Artisans' College in the same city. The subjects of instruction in university colleges are chiefly the exact sciences in their practical application, but also medicine, law, the ancient and modern languages, literature and history. What appears to us specially surprising is the fact that students are admitted at so early an age and without sufficient preparation; at Owens College boys may enter at the age of fourteen. It is equally opposed to our German notion of a clear organisation, that such different schools as academical institutions and lower preparatory schools should be united together, and that too in the same building. I saw this for the first time in *New College*, London, an institution for theological studies of Dissenters. It comprises a preparatory course of two years (faculty of arts, to which boys may be ad-

mitted at the age of sixteen, if they are acquainted with the first elements, the accidence of Latin and Greek) and a theological course of three years.

In 1826, *University College* was founded in London, in opposition to Oxford and Cambridge (in 1828 160,000*l.* were already subscribed for it), and in 1832 University College School was added to it; both are without any ecclesiastical connection. This called forth a practical protest on the part of the Church in the establishment of King's College in 1828, and King's College School in 1830. The well-known historian George Grote was for a long time Président of University College, while his father by contributing money took part in the establishment of King's College. Thus the old era is separated from the new one.

Both colleges, besides their preparatory schools, have also opened evening classes during the winter months, in which all the subjects of university as well as of school instruction are taught to young and old. The age of admission and the degree of preparation required sufficiently show that both colleges are still pre-eminently mere schools. Every one who has attained the age of 16 may become a student there, though he may not possess the knowledge—to judge from the printed questions of the entrance examination on the ancient languages, even in the case of those wishing to enter the theological department—of a pupil of a secunda* in a German gymnasium. In King's College reports are sent to the parents of the students at the

* A German Gymnasium has six classes, the lowest being called *sexta*, so that the *secunda* would answer to the fifth form in our public schools.—Ed.

end of each of the three terms, into which the year is divided. The schools of the two colleges have upper, middle, and lower classes, and separate departments for classical and practical subjects of instruction (classical and modern sides).

The German universities combine scientific research with scientific teaching and training to scientific work, while scientific research is the exclusive business of academies; but the universities of England have pre-eminently confined themselves to teaching and examining, and the London University is simply an examining institution. In Germany most of those who have passed through a Gymnasium, or a Realschule of the first order, enter upon scientific or professional studies, as the natural sequel to school-learning; but in England, the universities, if we except the just mentioned London University, are still essentially schools: "the first year of the student's university life is a mere continuation of his school-work." Some of the excellent works of W. Whewell on 'English University Education' are written in this spirit. At Oxford and Cambridge, you cannot ask "to what faculty does a young man belong?" or "what does he study?" but "where does he study?" that is, "to what college does he belong?" The number of such college-foundations for collegiate life at Oxford amounts to twenty, independently of five smaller ones called halls; in Cambridge there are fourteen colleges and three halls. The real professional studies are generally pursued by those who choose them at all, after their university career. Many of the faculties, it is true, do exist, and are represented by professors; but they do not constitute the component parts of the university;

this is done by the colleges. The degrees in theology, law, and medicine are not conferred by a faculty, but by the university as such. This and the different relation of the state to the acquisition of knowledge explain the difference between the English and German universities. The educational function of the English universities is only a rise upon that of the public schools; to strengthen and deepen the general culture, especially by a prolonged occupation with the ancient classics, and to bring the character of the young man to maturity: "to turn him out more of a man than he was before." The order of study and the discipline are regulated according to these objects, and English students are allowed less freedom than we are accustomed to in Germany.

No certificate of maturity is demanded for matriculation at Oxford or Cambridge, nor is there in general any examination for admission, the latter is the case only in some colleges—such as Balliol College at Oxford. It is the general opinion that most of the colleges do not consider it to be to their interest to be severe in the admission of students, and that thereby the universities have depressed the standard of the public schools. It is a rare thing for a student to have passed through the highest class of such a school. Men of practical experience have assured me that the majority of students are insufficiently prepared, and that they proceed to the universities not to study, but to be coached for the examinations. The new-comer has only to pay his dues, and to recognise his obligation to submit to the general rules; there must however be no doubt about his moral qualification. The chief object in most cases is the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

The undergraduate receives his directions for study from his tutor, a fellow of the college, but chiefly from his private tutor, for the former is more especially obliged *loco parentis* to exercise a general care and superintendence over him. Fellows are those who enjoy the funds of a college as a pension; they are elected by co-optation from among those who have passed their university examinations.

Instruction is generally given during two hours daily, from 10 to 12, and more than twenty students rarely meet in class; it is like the prima of a German Gymnasium. It was formerly the rule, in addition to this, to be prepared by a private tutor, and the business of a private tutor was for a long time a very lucrative industry at Oxford and Cambridge, but it is said now to be on the decrease. The lectures of the professors are on the whole little attended, especially because they do not, like the tutors, take part in the examinations. In recent times a step towards a closer union of the colleges has been taken, inasmuch as sometimes several colleges do their exercises in common under the same tutor or lecturer, who is regarded as particularly clever and able in his department, whereas formerly one tutor was thought sufficient for the different requirements of the students. Last year Oxford had thirty-seven professors and one hundred and sixty-eight college tutors and lecturers, of whom one hundred and fifty were fellows. The natural sciences and modern languages have recently been added to the old subjects of instruction. The year is divided at Oxford into four terms, at Cambridge into three; but on the whole it is customary to devote less than one-half of the year to study; and as great importance is attached to physical

exercises, study must give way to these and other out-door amusements, especially when the weather is fine.

Besides the students living in the colleges there are also *externes*, who in Cambridge form the majority; they belong to a definite college, but live in the town, and are bound in the arrangement of their time to follow the rules prescribed for the others; they attend divine service at their college, and are generally obliged to dine there. At Oxford those who have lived three years at a college must take apartments in the town, in order to make room for others. To these has been added in modern times a third class, *unattached students*, who are not subject to the regulations of a college, but to the general rules of the university, and must have a tutor. The consequences of the unrestrained life led by these students not living in colleges, induced the authorities at Oxford in 1854 to abolish this arrangement: *Ne quis Scholaris in domibus privatis victitet aut hospitetur;* but this could not be carried out, and in 1868 the old custom was completely revived.

Special professional studies are for the most part* carried on after the university course in seminaries and other institutions of a practical character. But the admission to them is by no means dependent upon the candidate proving that he has studied at a university. There are in England a goodly number of medical men and judges, also dissenting ministers, who have never studied at a university. Most of the clergy of the

* About three-fourths of the students of Oxford last year wished to prepare themselves for the more difficult examination for honours, one-third in the ancient languages; others in a descending proportion in modern history, theology, law, mathematics, and natural science (in the last only one-fifteenth).

English Church, it is true, receive their education at Oxford or Cambridge, but it is not necessary that the candidate should have taken his degree; a clergyman above all things must be a gentleman, and his having resided for a time and for this purpose at a university, seems to be considered more important than the examinations; to judge of his qualifications is afterwards the business of the bishop. In the theological department of King's College, London, the diplomas there acquired after an attendance of two years are accepted by the bishops as sufficient proof of qualification. In the same college, persons who during the day are engaged in other occupations, may prepare themselves in the evening classes, even for theological appointments.* At New College, which I have mentioned before, the students are often young men who have previously carried on some trade. In justification of this, it is sometimes said that those who have before gained a larger experience in life are better fitted for the clerical office than others, who pass at once from school to the study of theology. There is a seminary at St. Bees, in Cumberland, for poor theological students belonging to the English Church.

The future lawyer in order to gain a practical knowledge visits the Inns of Court, such as the Inner and Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, or enters the office of some lawyer as an apprentice. This mode of

* "With a view to meet the requirements of those who desire to enter Holy Orders, but are unable, for so long a period as two years, to relinquish professions in which they are already engaged, it has been determined (with the approval of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Rochester) to allow a portion of the study and training of the theological department to be carried out in the evening."

proceeding and of acquiring a knowledge of law by the study of concrete cases is, in England, regarded as the only possible method, because the English laws are not systematically arranged, and cannot be treated as a science. During the last ten years an examination has had to be passed before admission into the courts, but Greek and mathematics are not required, and in some cases the whole examination may be dispensed with.

According to the arrangements made quite recently for the practice of medicine, it is scarcely possible to be admitted to the study of it without a sufficient school training, and at least some knowledge of Latin. Medical students receive the principal part of their training in hospitals. It is well known that the medical art in England has distinguished representatives.

The Scottish universities, compared with the old English ones, are poor, and like some of the Irish ones receive aid from the state. They are not what their name indicates, but have even more than Oxford and Cambridge the character of schools with lower and higher classes. At the beginning of the lesson the professor calls over the roll, puts questions, tasks are given out, &c. Each subject of general culture is always represented by only one professor: in Edinburgh, for example, John Stuart Blackie is the only professor of Greek. A minimum amount of knowledge is not required on admission; sometimes boys of thirteen years are enrolled as students. Those who have attended a high school are on an average sixteen years old, and enter the higher class; besides these there may be young men of twenty-five who have come from country districts. In 1866, 29 per cent. of the students in the Humanity classes of the Edinburgh University had

come direct from elementary schools, and the percentage in Aberdeen was even greater. Professor Blackie in one of his writings says: "The Faculty of Arts in our universities has been dragged down to the level of school teaching, and the professors have been forced systematically to denude themselves of all their highest professorial and academical functions." Many of the students are entirely without means, and it still happens that during the more than six months' holidays they have elsewhere to earn the means of living in the university town during the winter. A life such as the students lead at Oxford and Cambridge is not known in Scotland, any more than the *vita communis* and the discipline of the colleges. The persevering industry of Scotch students is highly spoken of; Lord Stanley in his Rectorial Address at Glasgow in 1869 thought it even necessary to caution them against over-exertion. In all the Scotch universities the Rector is elected by the students.

Ireland has an Anglican and a Roman Catholic university at Dublin; both have an entrance examination, the requirements of which, however, are much inferior to those of the German *Abiturienten** examinations. University (Queen's) Colleges were established in 1845 in Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The last place has also a Presbyterian College, and an old Roman Catholic College exists at Maynooth.

The new Roman Catholic university at Kensington (London) admits pupils from the age of seventeen, and has a strictly regulated curriculum of four years.

* An abiturient is a young man who, after having gone through the six classes of a Gymnasium, is going through an examination to ascertain his fitness to enter a university. This examination may be termed a *leaving examination*.—ED.

LETTER VII.

The Universities continued—Eton—International Schools.

Whitby.

I WILL now proceed to discuss the differences in kind of the higher schools mentioned in my last letter.

In regard to their origin most of them are foundation schools, wholly or partially endowed.* The great institutions at Eton, Winchester, St. Paul's in London, and many others, are described as mainly *Foundation schools. Hospital schools* are a special kind of institutions, which have arisen out of charitable foundations or charities. Hospital in the first instance signifies a poor's house, and next very frequently a school connected with such a house. Christ's Hospital in London (the Bluecoat School) has been the model for others, as for Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh, which was founded in 1628; the splendid Fettes College recently erected (1864) at Edinburgh is likewise a Hospital school. One-half of all the school foundations have probably originated in this manner, and most of them were intended for the humbler classes. The mischievous consequences of many children living closely packed together in a monastic fashion has now led the

* The spirit of most founders is expressed in the inscription above the entrance of the school at Kingsbridge:—

"Lord what I have 'twas Thou that gav'st it me,
And of Thine own this I return to Thee."

St. Paul's School in London, according to the intention of its founder, Dean Colet, was to be: "A free school to all natives or foreigners, of what country whatsoever, none being excluded by their nativity, which exclude not themselves by their unworthiness, to the number of 153, as many fishes as were caught in the net by the Apostles (John xxi. 11)."

authorities at Edinburgh to the determination to place the children in families, and to have them educated with others in the hospital, which is to be converted into a day school. As the Fettes foundation left to the trustees their free choice, they have thought it best, considering the actual wants, to provide a higher school with a boarding establishment for the middle classes; it educates fifty boys free of expense. Glasgow, too, has recently been enabled by the Hutcheson hospital foundation, to establish a grammar school with an elementary and a secondary department, the latter being divided into a classical and a modern side.

In England, as in Germany, we can distinguish *Gymnasia* and *Realschulen;* but a combination of the two is now more frequent in England than the specific separation, inasmuch as the curriculum of the public and grammar schools has been considerably enlarged by the introduction of the natural sciences, modern languages, and partially also by more attention being paid to history, geography, and mathematics. It often happens that according to the system of bifurcation, we meet in the same institution with the three departments which I have just mentioned in the case of the Glasgow grammar school; the common substructure is also called the preparatory, lower or junior school (below thirteen years), the superstructure is termed the classical or general side, and the modern the mathematical side.

Among the old public schools Harrow was the first to enlarge its curriculum by the addition of a distinct modern side; and there, as at Dulwich, Marlborough, Birmingham, and Cheltenham, it is managed by the same head-master as the classical side. The same is the case in Wellington College, an excellent institution, situated in a beautiful

part of Berkshire. It was founded in 1853, in honour of the Duke whose name it bears, for the sons of deceased officers; and the funds were secured by subscriptions, to which was added the residue of the patriotic fund, which had been raised at the time of the Crimean war. A large number of other pupils was soon added to the eighty foundationers who are educated entirely free of expense. The institution has gradually changed its originally half-military character, and is now in most respects what we should call a *Realschule.*

In regard to assigning equal rights to the classical and modern schools, the directors of the latter make very short work. A grammar school at Giggleswick, in Yorkshire, founded in the sixteenth century, has now become a Realschule, according to the scheme drawn up for it by the Endowed School Commission, and is enjoying an excellent reputation. I saw it during the process of its transformation, which consisted, among other things, in the addition of a large building for boarders. The school calls itself "a first grade modern school, that is, a school answering in every respect to a first grade classical school, except that the leading subjects of instruction are Latin, modern languages and literature, natural science and mathematics. Greek, except in special cases, and verse compositions are omitted."

Sometimes the classical and the realistic or modern departments of the same school are under different management, as, for example, in the Leathersellers' foundation and the Haberdashers' school in the suburbs of London. There are also institutions which, though belonging to each other, are yet locally separated and differ from each other either in kind or degree. Thus a Hospital Pre-

paratory School in Hertford belongs to the Bluecoat School in London; in like manner the upper school at Dulwich has at some distance a lower school, with Latin, for poorer boys, which is managed by the same head-master.

A corporation which I have mentioned before (p. 50) has established for the south of England schools which belong to each other, first, at *Lancing* (Sussex), for the higher classes, chiefly classical; secondly, at *Hurstpierpoint*, for the middle classes, chiefly realistic; thirdly, at *Ardingly*, a higher elementary school (*höhere Bürgerschule*) for the poorer classes; in the last two, however, opportunities are offered for learning Latin and Greek. The same corporation has planned a similar group for the Midland district; but has, as yet, only commenced the middle of the three institutions, a realistic school at Dengstone. There is a preparatory school for Lancing at St. Leonard's, near Hastings. Each group, moreover, has a girls' school connected with it.

In Germany very few of the more important boarding-schools are situated in large towns; most of them, like Ilfeld, near Hanover, are in smaller places. Such is the case also at Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and now also Charter House; or they are situated, like our Schulpforte and Rossleben, in country solitude, for instance, Wellington, Mill Hill, Giggleswick, Glenalmond (Perthshire). Many of these boarding-schools also receive pupils who only take part in the instruction, whence they have non-resident as well as resident pupils. But it is considered more genteel when the former are excluded, for which reason many heads of private boarding-schools say in their prospectus "no day-scholars are admitted." Even in the middle classes not a few parents, in order to appear

more respectable, send their sons and daughters to such exclusive establishments. In Scotland there are fewer boarding-schools than in England, but many day-schools also receive boarders, as, for example, Morison's Academy at Crieff, and Hutton Hall in Dumfries, which belong to the endowed schools.

The fact that, in general, the education of boys in boarding-schools is preferred to domestic training and attending a day-school, arises from the belief that the mutual education which boys in boarding-schools receive from one another is of the highest value; for there, it is said, the character is formed at an early time, and boys are prepared to bear the buffs to which everyone is exposed in after life, to show courage and resolution, and to acquire an honourable *esprit de corps*.* What is called the Eton system regards it as its problem "to make manly boys."

The number of pupils at Eton has been on the increase during the last years: in 1836 it had four hundred and forty-four pupils; in July of the present year I found nine hundred and fifty-two. The seventy foundation scholarships, or King's scholarships, were originally intended for poor boys, but, as at present the benefit is acquired by competitive examination, several sons of wealthy parents are in the enjoyment of them.

Seven hundred and seventy oppidans reside in boarding-houses, which are now, for the most part, kept by the masters

* In an official report of 1867 I find the following: "In the great schools which possess famous traditions, and in which the pupils come for the most part from the houses of gentlemen, there is a tone of manners, and a sentiment of honour, which go far to neutralise the disadvantages of a too early withdrawal from the shelter of home. Few boys can breathe such an atmosphere without being strengthened by it."

(thirty) in the vicinity of the school; those which used to be kept by dames have been reduced to two. Eton has longest held to its ancient traditions; innovations were met by "it was always so," until a few years ago (1872) new statutes were framed; since then the new governing body has made many internal as well as external changes. Mathematics and French now belong to the obligatory subjects. Twice every year an examiner, invited by the governing body, comes from Oxford, selects a number of pupils from each class, examines them in whatever he likes, and also looks over their written exercises. The old-fashioned, much-abused school-books have been thrown aside, the number of class-rooms has been increased, and are now also heated in winter. The income of the institution amounts to about 30,000*l.* annually. All boys on the foundation must belong to the English Church; but it is no longer necessary either for the Provost or the head-master to be a clergyman.

Boarding-schools for the higher ranks exist in sufficient number (the most frequented among the older ones, next to Eton, are Harrow, Winchester, and Merchant Taylors', in London, which has one hundred foundationers), but for the other ranks there is a scarcity of such boarding-schools as are not too expensive and enjoy the general confidence of the public.

In consequence of the government measures the exclusive ecclesiastical or *religious character* of many schools has recently been given up, but in opposition to this it has been made more stringent in others, for new institutions have been founded with a definite ecclesiastical tendency. The inclination towards ritualism, which is increasing in the English Church, shows itself also in

some schools, for example at Bloxham near Banbury, in Oxfordshire: the school, a higher elementary school with Latin, it is said, "is especially intended to give a sound general education in the distinctive catholic principles of the English Church, and, in a manly, liberal spirit to boys who, as a rule, go direct from school into the business of life.". Lancing, which I mentioned above, and the institutions connected with it are of a similar character.

Besides the Anglican Cathedral and other parish schools, there exists a number of Dissenting institutions, as of the Wesleyans (for example their Collegiate Institution at Trull near Taunton), Methodists, and Independents. But most of them are of a mixed character, especially the schools of the Society of Friends, which are highly praised on account of the care and ability of their masters, and are not confined to children of their own denomination. The Moravian-schools also, for example at Fulneck in the West Riding, are likewise attended by other children, as is the case in Germany, from which country they from time to time receive new masters.

In Scotland the presbyteries at first took part in the ecclesiastical management of the parochial schools, but, as in Germany, the direct ecclesiastical influence has been more and more repressed. By the side of the public schools (in the Scottish sense of the word) there also exist schools of the Church of Scotland, of the Free Church, the Episcopal and the Roman Catholic Churches. The last are on the increase in England. Among their larger colleges I may mention by way of example that at Stonyhurst in Lancashire, and Mount St. Mary's College near Chesterfield, which, like the school at Oscott near Birmingham, are managed by Jesuits.

The state in no case exercises *the rights of a patron* over any of the higher schools. In Germany several of these schools would, according to their foundation, be under royal patronage; such would be the case, for instance, with Eton, Westminster, King Edward's School at Birmingham, Shrewsbury, the Grammar schools at Sherborne, at Bury St. Edmund's, and others; but in England government has no direct influence over them. The funds of the endowed schools, from whomsoever they are derived, have not been bequeathed to an individual person, but to a place, to a district, or to the country in general, that is, to the nation and not to the state as such, of which they are, on that account, independent; they are, like Oxford and Cambridge with their rich college foundations, national property. While therefore with us in Germany the *Joachimsthal-Gymnasium* and *Schulpforta*, princely foundations of early times, have in their internal and external relations entirely fallen under the administration of the state, Eton, founded by Henry VI. as a preparatory school for King's College, Cambridge, has its own special administration, is independent, and could resist the interference of a commission of inquiry appointed by Parliament, and at all events reject proposed alterations. I have already mentioned that it has at last given up its resistance.

The governing body possess the patronage and the corporate rights of the institution of which they have the administration. The composition as well as the name of such governing bodies are very different. In the case of several of the old public schools, the three universities, and the Royal Society of London, are represented in the governing bodies; in some cases the body of the masters, including the head-master, are entitled to elect one of

their number. In Eton, the governing body consists of the Provost and ten Fellows; at Westminster, of the Chapter of the cathedral; at Winchester, of the Warden and the Fellows; at Rugby, of the trustees; at Harrow, of the Governors; at Dulwich it consists of nineteen persons, eleven of whom are elected by the Court of Chancery in London, and eight by the four London parishes which are privileged by the deed of the foundation.

Moreover churches, universities, corporations and associations of different kinds, have the patronage of schools. In Leeds the patronage belongs to trustees headed by the vicar of the principal church; in Bristol it belongs to the corporation. It is the same in some towns of Scotland; but at present the high schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow are no longer under the patronage of the city-corporations, but are placed under the School-boards instituted by the government. In such cases the towns only retain certain honorary rights of representation.

King's College in London, under a permanent Principal elected by the Council, has something of a monarchical constitution. In University College the Council itself determines everything, and a new President is elected every year.

The *Proprietary schools* are the property of individuals or of associations, which have founded or maintain them on account of the interest they take in education. Some of the best schools of the country are of this class. Many also are the property of shareholders, whose object it is to make money by them. In this the head-masters are generally in an unpleasant position, as the proprietors, if they live in the same place, generally wish to interfere in everything; and either from selfishness or

from vanity often make the most perverse arrangements; but whether they live near or at a distance, at all events they expect good dividends upon their shares. Many public advertisements of such establishments and of private schools may be seen, in which they offer to do a variety of things for everybody, *e.g.*, "Thorough preparation for the public schools and universities, the Naval and Military Colleges, Local and Civil Service examinations, and for professional and commercial and all business life;" in like manner they promise to "take special care of delicate and backward boys, and of Indian and colonial children."

Proprietary schools are commonly distinguished from *Private schools*, which are the property of an individual who at the same time conducts them. As to his ability no one has a right to question it. Being institutions established at the risk of an individual and for his own benefit they are also called *Adventure schools*. The number of such schools and the difference in their arrangements are very great in England, and many are said to be incredibly bad. To teach and to set up schools are parts of free trade there, and any one who has been found wanting in other occupations, or has become a bankrupt in all manner of undertakings, may still set up an "academy for young gentlemen," "a commercial" or "an agricultural academy." He engages the cheapest teachers, who if they know nothing of what they are to teach may stick to books. It rests with the parents as to whether they wish to entrust their sons to him; very many do it, and I have often wondered at it. As individual men are essentially different from one another in the clearness of their ideas about the relation between the means and the end

and in their ability to distinguish between the two, so one nation possesses these qualities more than another, but no nation seems to have them to the same extent as the English, both in their public and in their private affairs, whence they generally appear as calculating and cool reasoners. But in selecting a place for the instruction or education of their children this clearness of judgment is most frequently wanting. Numberless parents still allow themselves to be deceived by seductive laudations in the public papers, and by splendid promises to meet all the wishes of the public, and in their blind confidence entrust their children to incompetent teachers.

I am well aware, on the other hand, that there are some very excellent private schools, and that some of them have most able teachers; and I, for my part, have always been of opinion that it is desirable to allow a free pedagogic field of experiment alongside of the public institutions, which are bound by fixed rules, even for the development of the special talents of the teachers themselves.

We may further observe a difference among schools according to *the social position* of the parents—a difference not known in Germany to the same extent. It does indeed happen among us also, that some institutions for a time acquire the reputation of gentility through the sons of wealthy parents, who give a certain tone to them; but special distinctions of rank are not fostered in German schools; even the *Ritter-Akademien* (schools for the nobility) have given up their exclusiveness; the equal desire to be educated, and, after the time of school attendance, the mere fact that youths have passed the *Abiturien-*

ten-Examen (leaving examination qualifying for the University), make them all equal in rank. The City of London School, and others, state their object to be to "furnish a liberal and useful education for the sons of respectable persons who are engaged in professional, commercial, and trading pursuits." Other institutions are expressly called *Middle-class schools*. It does not easily occur in Germany thus to name the class of the population for which a higher school is established; the character and the aims of the school are indicated, and it is left to the public to avail itself of it or not. It is only in girls' schools that a somewhat stricter distinction of ranks is observed.

In England, where the nobility does not form a distinct class in the continental sense, an aristocratic exclusiveness makes itself nevertheless felt in the education of the young. Some heads of schools do not admit boys at all, whose fathers keep a shop; in other schools the lives of such boys are made miserable by the other pupils. The following case was related to me in London. A mother brings her son to the head-master of a school, where the fees were high. One of her questions is: have you sons of tradespeople? The head-master answers yes, but they are well-behaved boys, and belong to respectable and wealthy houses. This was of no use, the mother went away and took her son with her. It is generally believed that parents not belonging to the higher ranks, send their sons to such schools, with the intention of raising them, by the acquaintances they there form, into the higher social circles. This ambitious motive may actually exist in many cases, and be one of the causes why some public schools are so numerously attended; but it is

well known that very many families, by the very wealth acquired in commerce and other industrial undertakings, have been raised into the region of the aristocracy.

The expenses for a pupil at Eton, if clothing, games, military drill and journeys are included, generally amount to upwards of 200*l.* per annum; even those who are on the foundation require annually about 25*l.* At Rugby the expenses amount to about 150*l.* But there are also boarding-schools, where the annual cost is 50*l.* and even less. The fees in the Gymnasia and Realschulen throughout Prussia are, with few exceptions, the same; but in England we meet with the greatest differences in this respect.*

International schools have been mentioned in my last letter. We cannot wonder that the idea of a greater community of culture should have arisen at a time when the nations have been brought into such close contact by the new means of communication. Before the last war with France, negotiations were carried on for a time about a question which came from that country, as to whether French candidates might be admitted into German seminaries (normal schools), provided German candidates were received in return in the seminary for middle-class teachers at Cluny. Various reasons prevented this scheme being carried into effect.

At the time of the great Exhibition in Paris, 1862, Eugène Rendu raised the question about instituting international schools. The idea was taken up in England by Cobden, and soon found supporters. The object was at first really something grander than the mere learning of foreign languages by a residence in a foreign country;

* Some examples of school fees, &c., may be seen in Appendix I.

the personal and friendly intercourse of young people was intended to set aside national prejudices, and to prepare an area for general peace throughout Europe. The plan then was to form a large company of shareholders, and to establish at four places—those originally proposed being Oxford, Munich, Paris, and Rome, or Florence—schools which should be perfectly alike in their arrangements. The institutions were to admit pupils between the ages of eleven and eighteen, and were to dovetail into one another in such a manner that after every second year each boy was to pass on to another country. The language of the country was to be the language in which the instruction should be given. It was hoped that by this means, and by the intercourse of the pupils in the school, the European languages would be acquired with fluency without any special instruction in grammar. The opposition which this proposal of course also met with, pointed chiefly to the fact that by such a method only an outward and superficial culture could be acquired, and hinder the strengthening of the special national character. For a long time this and other considerations were not listened to; but it was nevertheless not attempted to carry out the proposed method, principally because the same amount of readiness was not met with in all of the four countries to contribute the funds necessary for the undertaking. Moreover there was no lack of educational establishments for young Englishmen either in France or in Germany (*e.g.* on the Rhine, at Dresden, and elsewhere). In England some institutions under the above name still continue to exist, as at Spring Grove near London. During a visit I paid to that institution, four years ago, when Dr. Leonhard Schmitz

was still its principal, I found a motley assemblage of pupils: some were the sons of Germans resident in England, others had come from Spain, Portugal, North and South America, and India; but the majority were English boys. There were only very few French pupils. At every lesson which I attended, I witnessed the extraordinary difficulties with which the instruction in the institution had to contend.

This reminds me of a conversation on a kindred subject, a universal language, which I once had with a Frenchman under peculiar circumstances. It was Antommarchi, the private physician of Napoleon at St. Helena. In 1831 we were obliged for a whole fortnight to share the same room in the Herrenkrug near Magdeburg, where we were in quarantine during the prevalence of cholera. He was then on his return to France after the fall of Warsaw, where he had served the cause of the Poles. He was an agreeable narrator of the events he had witnessed, and it was exceedingly pleasant to discuss matters with him, for he understood the art not only of speaking, but also of listening. But I could not convert him to my opinion, that the English and not the French must become the universal language. The cosmopolitan idea of one language for the whole world is started again and again on different occasions; Leibnitz was not the first who thought of a "Pasilalia," and the subject has been repeatedly discussed in consequence of the marvellously accelerated intercourse among nations by means of railroads and electric telegraphs; in fact the restoration of the German empire has quite recently been the occasion of a serious proposal to assemble a congress of scholars, for the purpose of determining upon a general language

for the intercourse among nations, or in case of need to create one, and to make it a rule that this language should be taught in all the schools.

LETTER VIII.

Comparison of the School Administration of Germany and England — The Committee of Privy Council on Education — School Inquiry Commissions — The Governing Bodies — Dulwich — Schools of First, Second, and Third Grade — University Reform.

Scarborough.

THE Odyssey can nowhere be read with greater pleasure than by the sea-shore. How I have again felt this here, where the roar of the ocean comes in at my open window, and my eye can follow the sunny coast-line of the bay! But my present letters have to speak of other impressions and studies.

In my last I gave a general survey of the different kinds of schools existing in England. We in Germany also have a great variety of public and private educational establishments, differing in kind and degree, although the variety is not as perplexing as in England. The difference between the two countries, which in this respect is at once evident, is that we in Germany have everywhere a definite school-system, and a fixed order of administration under the management of the government. Both are wanting in England. Owing to the influences of a transition period, many things with us in Germany have become uncertain, and are subjects of controversy; for example, the ways and means by which the aims and objects fixed for the different kinds of schools can be

most surely attained. However the aims themselves, for example in Prussia, are fixed and distinct according to the destination of the particular institutions. In like manner there is a firmly established connection, and a well regulated mutual relation among the schools which embraces the whole system.

We are not so self-satisfied as to suppose that our school-system is therefore perfect. We know its defects, and know in what it is internally wanting in spite of its outward appearance of order; this order, however, inasmuch as it nowhere hinders the further development, facilitates the work of progressive reform.

This we owe to the state, to the government; we know what we have in and from it: it is above all this unity of administration; it is free from arbitrariness, and is conducted in most German countries—in the central localities as well as in the provinces—by men who have obtained their appointments after long practical activity and experience in schools. In all important questions the advice of those acquainted with the subject in the country is listened to and made use of to a large extent. In the schools themselves, however, the head-master is not prevented, by the arrangements established by law, from carrying out the idea of culture in accordance with his own best judgment, and, in like manner, no obstacle is put in the way of the free pedagogic influence of the masters on the boys.

And hand in hand with the direction and the superintendence of the whole, with the attention paid to the objects of the schools themselves, goes the care which is bestowed upon the persons connected with it. Fixed laws and administrative ordinances protect both the master in

his rights and claims, and secure the school itself against neglect and official abuse. Every approved teacher of a public institution has a right to expect a pension after leaving his office, and moreover the institution of a widows' fund can set his mind at ease, if not entirely at rest, in regard to the future of the family he may leave behind him.

When we compare this state of things with that which at present exists in the English school system, I can scarcely say otherwise—and Englishmen themselves have used the same expression—than that things are in a chaotic state,* the very reverse of organisation. There is an absolute want of any clear division of the whole domain, of a definition of the different kinds of schools, and of fixed distinct objects. In many cases we ask in vain for some decisive authority which would prevent freedom from degenerating into arbitrariness. It is true that an extraordinary amount is done, that ample means exist and are contributed with great liberality for scholastic purposes; but they are frittered away.

The affairs of education and culture, and the science and art collections, are in very different hands, and belong to separate departments, which are quite independent of one another. Hence, in these matters, one everywhere misses unity and combination of the powers of administration. What grand things might be attained, could the means be kept together and employed according to some fixed plan of unity! The many noble endeavours

* "We are now beginning to look forward hopefully to the gradual reduction of our educational chaos into something like a system," are the words of a head-master. Similar remarks are met with in the reports of some of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners.

and unselfish contributions towards the great object of education are as they stand—isolated, atomistic—not nearly so effective to the whole as they might and ought to be. The obstinacy and strength of Englishmen in their feeling of independence become weaknesses where organisation is required. I shall, in a subsequent letter, speak of the precarious personal position of teachers.

At present people are on all hands busy with reforms. But a unity of plan and a firm guiding hand is wanting. The old system, which has in part been already abandoned, worked well and successfully in its way; and no safe method has as yet been found for the new one; it has still to be tested. Thus many experiments are still going on, and in the education both of boys and girls courses are here and there being pursued which sooner or later will be recognised to be erroneous. What is needful in such times is a man of the character of Thomas Arnold, in whom were combined clearness of perception as to the requirements and means, with a practical mind for carrying them into execution, and an energetic power of will to direct them. But, even though such a man could be found, how could he, in England, acquire the right of acting authoritatively?

I have mentioned before that in the case of elementary schools, and of the institutions for training teachers for them, the government has created an organisation of administration which has already accomplished great things.

The want of a central administration, in the first instance, for elementary schools, was for a long time felt by many. The Church alone could not, either in England or in Scotland, supply the want; in like manner

the self-government of the towns and counties, as well as the action of the two great school associations (the National and the British), and the efforts of other charitable associations, proved insufficient. As early as the year 1832 therefore a Parliamentary Commission was appointed to inquire into scholastic affairs, and in 1839 the Committee of the *Privy Council on Education* was formed by the Privy Council of the Queen; this is the germ of a special ministry for education in England. Lord Melbourne's ministry, and afterwards Sir Robert Peel, aimed at placing the schools under government control; but the plan had to be given up; it was impossible at that time to carry a law through Parliament, and the attempt contributed not a little to the fall of Peel's ministry. The difficulty lay on the one hand in the opposition of Parliament and of the people against any centralising measures of the government; and on the other in the religious question, where the liberty of conscience of the individual as well as the antagonism between the English Church and the Dissenters had to be taken into account. The government was thus met by the jealousy of political and religious liberty, and had to content itself in the meantime with commencing some improvements, without a law, in the way of administration.

But amid continued struggles the Committee of Council steadily kept its object in view, and at last, after long parliamentary debates, has succeeded in bringing about a central administration for elementary schools. A wish has often been expressed that the government should take under its care those schools also which are destined for the middle classes of the population; but, hitherto, the government has declined, for many other reasons, and

also because it is thought right to wait and see whether the school-boards established for elementary schools might not, of themselves, enter into some connection with the institutions immediately above the elementary schools, which has in fact already taken place in Scotland.

The above mentioned Committee, the Education Department of the Privy Council, stands under its Lord President, who is responsible to Parliament. The Duke of Richmond is now President; the principal business of the Committee devolves upon the Vice-President and his secretaries. The Vice-President, now Viscount Sandon, occupies a position somewhat similar to that of our Minister of Instruction, but his authority is more limited. His predecessor, during Mr. Gladstone's premiership, until 1874, was Mr. W. F. Forster, who was at the same time cabinet minister, and hence still more influential. The *Cabinet* in England is something different from what it is, *e.g.*, in Prussia, where it is the privy council of the king, through which he communicates his resolutions to the ministry. In England the Cabinet may be regarded as a select committee of Parliament, or, if you like, of the ministry, and constitutes the real government of the country. Not all the ministers are members of the Cabinet; but the members of the Cabinet always belong to the much more numerous body of the Privy Council.

The Secretaries of the Education Department are in a position similar to that of the Prussian Ministerial Councillors (*Geheime Ministerialräthe*). The principal one among them at present is Sir F. R. Sandford, who is at the same time Secretary of the Science and Art Department for the promotion of the exact and natural sciences,

which ever since 1856 has been connected with the Education Department.

There are at present in England one hundred and two *Inspectors of Schools* (ten Seniors with an annual salary of 700*l.* each; that of the others varies between 200*l.* and 600*l.*); in Scotland, which has its own Education Committee, there are eighteen. The action of these School Inspectors and of the Education Department extends, as I have already observed, only to elementary schools, and among these only to those which are assisted with public money.

With the higher schools the Government has nothing to do, except in regard to their financial affairs, and even this only if they are endowed schools, and are maintained by their own endowments. As the interference in these cases is on the whole very cautious, Mr. Robert Lowe, M.P., and under Mr. Gladstone a member of the Ministry, might well express his indignation at the restraints put upon schools by the deeds of their endowments. In a speech which I heard him deliver at a school festival, where he was the chairman, he said: "In England, schools are managed not by strong living hands, but by dead ones." The amount of such endowments in the schools of England proper is estimated at about 1,000,000*l.* The endowments of many old schools in and near London, which were at first perhaps small, have enormously increased during the last two or three centuries, in consequence of the rise in the value of land. In regard to the application of their endowments, all these schools are under the High Court of Chancery, which has the superintendence of charities and the protection of infant heirs.

The inquiry into the management of the property

afforded to the government an opportunity, with the sanction of Parliament, of gaining some insight also into the pedagogic and didactic character of the schools, their doings, and their course of study. For each of these two objects different Commissions were appointed one after another, and voluminous reports were published; at the same time the Commissioners were led by their observations to suggest proposals of reforms.

A Charity Commission had been engaged for some considerable time in inquiring into the application of the funds of charitable foundations; but in 1861 a special Commission was appointed for the nine large endowed schools of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury; its title is "Public Schools Commission, to inquire into the revenues and management of certain colleges and schools." This task was followed by others, referring partly to the remaining endowed schools and other institutions, which occupy an intermediate position between the public and the elementary schools, partly to private and girls' schools, partly to scientific instruction (a Royal Commission for this last was appointed in 1870), and partly to the universities. A special "Endowed Schools and Hospitals Inquiry Commission for Scotland" was appointed in 1872.

The results of the inquiries were in each case laid before Parliament by the Committee of Council, whereupon the Public Schools Acts were passed in 1864 and 1868; and the Endowed Schools Acts in 1869, 1873, and 1874. By the Endowed Schools Amendment Act of 1874, *Charity Commissioners* were appointed instead of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, with the same

powers and authority. This is the still existing Commission for the Endowed Schools.

Owing to the independence of the several foundations and their great differences determined by local circumstances, the work of the Commissioners was very laborious and extensive; they had to strengthen themselves by Assistant Commissioners. The Commission appointed in 1864 had to deal with no fewer than 782 schools. Their personal inquiry was generally prepared by a number of questions sent to the schools. The reports mention nearly 20,000 questions, which according to the special circumstances were addressed to those concerned, together with the answers. The Commission which at the request of many was formed in 1865, to inquire into private schools, that wholly neglected branch of the educational machinery, was ordered to address eighty-one questions to the heads of such schools. These questions enter much into detail in all directions, inquiring into the external as well as the internal arrangements, and the whole of their operation. As the admission of the Commissioners in this case depended entirely upon the good will of the heads of the schools, it was recommended to proceed throughout the inquiry with discretion and caution. It is very interesting to read the instructions given to the Commissioners, *e.g.*, those of Mr. H. J. Roby,* Secretary to the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1874.

At first the Commissioners did not by any means meet with a cordial reception everywhere; in some places

* He is the author of a Latin grammar in two volumes, which shows that he is well acquainted with German works on the same subject. He now lives at Manchester, and is the owner of a manufactory.

they even met with decided opposition and refusal. Others, on the contrary, were impatient and vexed because, considering the urgent need of reform, they had to wait for the slow process of such inquiries, and the legislation that was to follow.

The reports of the different Commissions and Commissioners fill a very large number of folio and octavo Blue Books, which are evidences of their labour, perseverance, care, and accuracy; but it is difficult to make use of the mass of materials gradually accumulated in this manner. The reports of Mr. D. R. Fearon on London and Scotland are among the most searching and most instructive. Printed along with them are the reports of the Commissioners who were sent out to examine corresponding schools in France, Italy, Switzerland, Prussia, and Holland. The report on the higher schools of Prussia is by Mr. Matthew Arnold (1868).

The result of the inquiries regarding the endowments was that in many places the intentions of the founders had entirely fallen into oblivion, and that the benefits were not enjoyed by the poor for whom they were destined, but by the wealthy; that much carelessness, abuse, and disorder existed in the administration of the funds, and that the altered circumstances of the times demanded a different application of the funds for the common good. The endowments had in not a few cases been anything but a blessing to the place and the school; they had accustomed the inhabitants, and the teachers, too, to live on heedlessly and without any exertion of their own: instruction, for which they had not to pay, was looked upon and treated by many parents with indifference. When the Charity

Commissioners forbade the administrators of an endowment to spend part of its funds upon annual dinners, as was the custom in some places—the experience of the London Guilds had sufficiently shown what sums out of their charitable endowments were annually spent upon such entertainments;—it sometimes happened that they were requested not to interfere with the old custom, because the trustees on such occasions were sure to meet, and because such social gatherings were most likely to keep up a cordial feeling between them and the teachers, and an interest in the school itself.

Otherwise most of the Reports about the public schools expressed themselves satisfied with the state of discipline and with the care taken about the physical training of the pupils, but dissatisfied with the general results of the instruction, and this in a still higher degree in the case of a very large number of the other schools.

The first and most important result of the Reports was that, with the consent of Parliament, new governing bodies were appointed for most of the public schools. By the Act of 1868 these bodies were empowered to make alterations.

In regard to the admission of pupils, they ruled:

1. That they should be admitted only on the ground of a previous examination, and that the limits of age for leaving the school should be fixed differently from what they had been before.

2. That the number of admissions and of foundationer-should be diminished or increased according to circumstances.

3. That the admission to the benefits of the endowments should be granted only on the ground of examinations.

4. That the election of masters should not be subject to restrictions, *e.g.*, that it should no longer be dependent upon their having received their education in certain schools and universities, and that they should not be forbidden to marry.

5. That the sanitary condition of the schools should be better cared for.

6. That their property should be more carefully managed.

7. That the course of instruction should be enlarged in some schools and limited in others.

8. That exemption from religious instruction should be possible.

9. That the necessity of being boarded in the schools should be abolished.

10. That the head-master should be appointed by the governing body, and the masters by the head-master.

Partly the governing bodies, partly the Committee of Council, or Parliament itself, now made new arrangements regarding the granting of free education and other benefits —arrangements which were intended to give more weight to the will and real intention of the founder. In most cases an open competition was instituted, and the considerations of domicile, custom, and relationship, on which previously everything had depended, were greatly limited. It was, however, not thought desirable to admit the poor only, which was the literal meaning of some of the statutes, because the times had been very much changed, and because the state now paid annually large sums for the instruction of the poor. The abusive acquisition of privileges was prevented. It often happened, *e.g.*, that parents took up their residence at Rugby, only for the

time that their sons attended school, in order that, as inhabitants of the town, they might enjoy its privileges; upon this ground they could claim the admission of their sons, however little they might be qualified by talent or knowledge. As, however, the result of the competitive examinations has been that the prizes were carried off by the sons of wealthy parents who had been able to devote more time and money to the preparation for the examinations, more regard has of late again been paid to the circumstances of the parents in admitting their sons as foundationers.

Let me mention, as an example of such changes, the endowment of Alleyn's College of God's Gift, at Dulwich, near London; it is the foundation of an actor, made in 1612, and had been for a long time in an extremely neglected condition; a dispute about the application of its funds, in which some London parishes are interested, had been going on for several years. The local circumstances had become quite different in the course of time, as in other cases, where the founder intended to benefit a particular district of the city inhabited in his time by the middle classes as well as by poorer citizens. In the course of time the middle classes had, to a great extent gradually removed to the environs of the old city, and the inhabitants of that district of the city are now, for most part, poor people.

It was no longer practicable to limit the benefits of the foundation to the children of those parishes, especially because, at the founder's death, it amounted annually to 800*l*., whereas now it amounts to 16,000*l*., and because the state now takes care of the elementary instruction of the poor, while there is greater need in the middle classes with

small incomes. According to a decree of Parliament, three-fourths of the funds of the foundation are now applied to educational purposes, and one-fourth to the support of the poor. There are two educational institutions, a lower and a higher; the latter, the Dulwich College, has received a splendid new building, erected at a cost of 100,000*l.* In both institutions the children of the inhabitants of the London districts concerned enjoy some advantages on their admission, provided they have acquired sufficient preliminary knowledge. The new college, opened in 1870, seems to progress well, and is attended by considerable numbers. The fact that in its course of study more than usual attention is paid to drawing arises from the circumstance that the institution (like the *Streit'sche Schulstiftung*, at Berlin) also possesses a very valuable collection of paintings, the gift of a benefactor, who left a capital of 12,000*l.* to provide for its preservation in an appropriate home.

Considering that at the time when most of the schools were founded Dissenters and Roman Catholics did not yet possess a legal standing in England, and that, accordingly, only members of the Church of England had the enjoyment of them, Mr. Gladstone's Ministry went so far as to make the benefits of such endowments quite independent of religious profession, wherever the statutes were not expressly opposed to it. Toleration, enlightenment, and the religious freedom of the present day, it was said, demanded such a change; according to the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 (it does not refer to the old public schools, nor does it affect either Scotland or Ireland) the appointment of teachers, also, was to be independent of their religious beliefs. Mr. Disraeli, Gladstone's suc-

cessor, endeavoured, in 1874, to abolish this arrangement, but finding Parliament not favourable to his plan, he withdrew his Endowed Schools Bill.

In regulating the property of the endowed schools, the government has divided them into *three grades*. The division depends upon the different duration of the school course, and upon the average age up to which boys are expected to remain at school. Schools of the first grade are those at which the pupils remain up to their eighteenth or nineteenth year; of the second grade are those in which they remain till about their sixteenth year; and of the third grade those in which they remain until about the fourteenth. The course of instruction is regulated according to this and to the available means. Some institutions which, according to the intentions of their founders, still continued to admit and educate boys gratis, or for a small fee, up to the universities, but were unable to attain this end on account of their limited means, were reduced to a lower grade; while others, whose means were proved to be sufficient, were raised to the rank of schools of the first grade.

In order to establish a more suitable course of instruction, sometimes definite rules were laid down, *e.g.*, that the natural sciences and modern languages should be introduced, and sometimes a series of general recommendations were made to be taken into consideration.

In this new arrangement the government drew up a scheme based on the Reports for each of the endowed schools, and for the management of its funds; and the scheme was communicated to those whom it concerned for the expression of their opinion upon it. In case of the Committee of Council not being willing to consider

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any objections thus raised, Parliament might be appealed to for its decision. The schemes have the force of law, as soon as they have been confirmed by the Queen.* More than three hundred schemes have already been drawn up, a proof of the unremitting activity of the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

I asked a head-master who is very well acquainted with the state of affairs, whether, in the plan of instruction and in the arrangements of the schools in general, the Recommendations were universally followed, and whether more agreement thereby had been effected among institutions of the same kind. He smiled, and then quite frankly said: "I do not think so, we are not accustomed to it; I imagine everyone now, as before, does as he likes. The governing bodies, often strangely composed, have the power to interfere in many ways; but they are often not united among themselves or differ in their opinions from the Recommendations, and thus the internal affairs of the school generally remain as they were before."

All that has hitherto been done with great exertion and a large expenditure are only beginnings, but not the beginnings of a planned organisation; the efforts have been too isolated, and their success is too little secured. The government does not touch the real work of the school, but has to do almost exclusively with its externals, and always only with one particular school without regard to its connection with institutions pursuing the same object. The government sometimes lacks the authority and sometimes the energy consistently to insure general

* In the Appendix No. II. is printed, as a specimen, the scheme for the endowed school at Wakefield.

obedience to the new principles. The differences of the authorities concerned is in most cases too great: local, secular, clerical bodies, the Charity Commission, the Court of Chancery, and the Parliament, have to be consulted; whence it is often very difficult and wearisome to carry into effect even the most useful plans. There is always the greatest fear of having anything to do with the Court of Chancery, because business there is always connected with a large expenditure of time and money.

The Reports and the actual condition of the schools furnish abundant materials; but where is the architect to construct out of them an edifice worthy of the greatness of England? The feeling among the teachers in general is that the utmost they would concede to the state is the right of supervision, but not that of controlling. But what is the use of supervision which cannot insure corresponding effects?

I have discussed before (p. 65) the universities only as institutions for instruction and education; I must here return to them, inasmuch as recently they too have become the subjects of reform, effected or introduced for the most part by the orders of Parliament.

At Oxford and Cambridge the colleges form the university; the unity of the latter is overshadowed by the independence of the former. Keble College, the latest addition to Oxford, has been constituted in the same spirit; it is named after Keble, the poet of the 'Christian Year,' who died in 1866; Merton College, the oldest, was founded in 1264.

The Congregation at Oxford consists of all the Masters of Arts who reside at Oxford and are actively engaged in university work; hence of all the Professors, Heads of

Houses, Tutors, &c. Convocation consists of all the Masters of Arts who keep their names on the books, amounting to upwards of four thousand men scattered over all parts of the world. The Hebdomadal Council consists of eight Heads of Houses, eight Professors, and eight Masters of Arts, who are elected by Convocation for a number of years, and have to prepare the measures which are to be brought before Congregation for its decision. The most numerous and most powerful body is that of Convocation, which embraces all the fellows belonging to the university, wherever they may reside, and which, though it does not always consist of men competent to judge of the questions at issue, may reject the resolutions of Congregation.

The personal head of the administration in each University is the Vice-Chancellor, who is elected from among the heads of Colleges at Oxford by the Chancellor, and at Cambridge by the Senate. The office of the Chancellor is an honorary one, which, among others, the late Prince Consort held: in like manner the office of Visitor, which is held, for example, by the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The *Professors* belong to the university as such, and not to particular colleges. Most departments of knowledge are represented by them; but as the professorships are based solely on endowments, it may happen that one department, as, *e.g.*, theology at Oxford, is strongly represented, while others are not represented at all. The Professorship of comparative philology has been established at Oxford for Max Müller. The election of Professors is made in each case, according to the statute of the foundation, either by Convocation, or by a select

Committee of it, or by others, such as the bishops or the Queen, *i.e.* by the Prime Minister.

The revenues of the colleges and universities are derived from lands, houses, tithes, other foundations, and from the fees of the students. In the year 1871 the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge were estimated at 754,405*l.*, and the anticipated increase during the next fifteen years at 160,000*l.* The fellowships of the two universities, about eight hundred in number, have together endowments amounting to about 204,000*l.*; about 900 scholarships, exhibitions and bursaries were given, of the value of from about 40*l.* to 150*l.* annually.* The sum paid to professors amounted only to 7,100*l.*, while the heads of colleges at Oxford received 33,265*l.*, and at Cambridge 20,415*l.* for their functions, which are for the most part only of a representative nature.

This way of spending the funds, disproportionate as it is, and in part contrary to the intention of the founders, had for a considerable time attracted public attention and excited dissatisfaction. In the year 1850 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the "state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the universities and colleges at Oxford and Cambridge;" another was appointed in 1854. At first several colleges refused to give the information required, and the Commissioners were obliged to search for the statutes in archives and libraries. But gradually life got into the movement: the colleges themselves now began to reform, and, in contrast to the previous state of stagnation, there now followed a time of continued

* Last year Oxford had about 2500 students, 212 of whom were unattached. Among the colleges, Christ Church had the largest number, 202; twenty-two per cent. were in the enjoyment of college scholarships.

innovations and great activity in their internal and external affairs. Much has already been thoroughly changed by this means and by Acts of Parliament.

The most important change, the result of the Act of 1854, was the abolition of the religious test, whereby the doors of the two universities were thrown open to all without distinction of religious profession; a considerable part of the endowments also is now open to general competition; the necessity of taking holy orders, in order to be eligible to a fellowship, has been limited to a small number, in which the statutes render it unavoidable; in other respects also the somewhat monastic character of the colleges has been modified in a liberal spirit, and both in Cambridge and in Oxford the celibacy of fellows has, on certain conditions, been abolished in several colleges. Several fellowships and scholarships have been abolished or diminished in value, in order to obtain the means of founding new professorships or of increasing the salaries of those already existing. This last measure has been brought about partly by Royal Commissioners, and partly by the spontaneous action of the colleges themselves. The formerly very limited number of subjects of instruction and examination has been increased; and other changes are still under discussion. It is strange that such things as the distinction of noblemen from the rest of the students, not only in their costume and in their dining at separate tables, but also in their being considered competent to take the degree of B.A. after two years, while all others require three, have been maintained so long. At Oxford the distinction of noblemen by their costume and by dining at separate tables has long since been abolished at their own request.

Public opinion is not yet satisfied with what has already been done, and demands further reforms, especially the entire abolition of clerical fellowships and clerical headships of colleges. A new Commission, in 1872, had inquired into the state of the property and income of the universities and their colleges and halls; and in the present year (1876) a new Oxford and Cambridge Bill has been brought into Parliament, but has not yet been carried through. Its special object was a further limitation of the fellowships, and a fairer equalisation of the revenues of the colleges and of the universities as such. The University of Oxford at present has a fixed annual revenue of 30,000*l.*, while that of the colleges amounts to 307,000*l.* At Cambridge the proportion is similar, 24,000*l.* to 264,000*l.* But how is the money which would then become available to be applied?

Most of the colleges having an ecclesiastical origin—as even their names indicate—ought, in accordance with the wishes of the founders, to furnish poor young men with the means of devoting themselves undisturbed to study in a *vita communis*; they were destined "*ad orandum et studendum*," *i.e.*, to study for the purpose of promoting their own mental culture. In the course of years they have become institutions for instruction and education. Only some of the younger colleges have received this destination from their founders. Besides this, however, contrary to the original object, a large portion of the revenues is devoted to non-resident fellows without any obligation whatever.

Some eminent men are now advancing a movement, the object of which is to devote, if not exclusively, at least the greater portion of the money which would be saved by

the doing away with such idle fellowships, and is now spent either quite uselessly or merely for educational purposes, to the encouragement of scientific research, in order thus again to approach nearer to the original object of most of these foundations. The complaint raised is that the English universities are but little productive in learning and science, and it is demanded that they should at last cease to be mere schools. The exclusiveness with which this demand is sometimes made is certainly not justifiable; for universities are not academies, and cannot wish to withdraw themselves from the duty of giving instruction in science and learning. For good reasons, arising from the nature of the case, it has from ancient times been considered the highest honour to be a doctor in any one of the branches of science or learning (even in the case of physicians who do not teach): the right proof that one possesses knowledge is the ability to teach. It is very doubtful, however, whether—by such high prizes being conferred exclusively upon scientific research—the object of extending and deepening study and learning would be actually attained; where would be the guarantee that we should not have idle professorships in the place of idle fellowships?

The changes already introduced are, in England, by no means generally considered to be improvements. Even the way in which the inherited funds have hitherto been applied has its advocates. They say: the two universities have produced men eminent in science and learning, only by the fact that—under the protection of their clerical character which permits of the free enjoyment of the benefices connected with it—they render it possible for fellows to travel, thus guarding them against the

consequences of isolation, and to introduce fresh life into their colleges.

It seemed to me that the chief wish and endeavour of men of science and learning in England was to make their universities more like the German ones, in accordance with the idea that the latter are "places where all the great branches of knowledge are taught and cultivated, and where students and teachers are united, if not by a common system of thought embracing all their studies, at least by a common method and common ends." Here and there it was considered as unworthy of the English universities only to consume what was produced at German universities.

But do not imagine that the German universities have only eulogists in England. Englishmen of the old type, without having any special knowledge, consider them as the promoters of learned arrogance and of a ruinous scepticism, and disapprove of the freedom of study as well as of its results. However, I will tell you the opinion of an unbiassed mind. An Englishman who had lived in Bonn for a considerable time, who had a liking for the customs, the language and culture of Germany, and held German learning in high esteem, declared to me that he was nevertheless obliged to maintain his preference for the principles of the English universities.

"I have seen," said he, "that in Germany the transition from the school to the university is for many too sudden and abrupt. All control and superintendence, nay, even the compulsion to work, ceases all at once. You throw the young men into the water, trusting that they will surely learn to swim; yes, the stronger minds do learn it, but how many do not and perish! Your students

during six or eight semesters are mere recipients, they become disused to mental exertion, and their power of rendering an account of how they have digested what they have received is neither exercised nor tested; many a one during that long period becomes incapable of writing down his own thoughts on any subject in lucid order and in a refined style. During this period of perfect liberty, how does the majority of, *e.g.*, those inscribed in the faculty of law, spend the greater part of their time? It is only at a later period that they learn most from a private tutor who prepares them for their examination. I have also been much surprised in the class rooms by the sight of the students eagerly writing down the professor's words. You overlook that in Goethe's *Faust* it is Mephisto who advises the scholar to write diligently. The teaching, moreover, of many professors is nothing more than dictating, and they do not exercise the stimulating influence of a free discourse and of inspiriting eloquence."

The son of Niebuhr once spoke to me in a similar manner: his father too, he said, had been sorry to be obliged to study in a university; he himself (Marcus Niebuhr), he added, had acquired most of his knowledge of the law from private tutors. Hence he considered that, independently of the lectures, seminaries were indispensable for a fruitful intercourse between the professors and the students; but that those seminaries already existing were insufficient. Medical students, he remarked, learn most, not in the lecture room, but in the hospital, the young naturalists in the laboratory and in those institutions in which they can see things and work by themselves.

The increasing number of seminaries in connection with the universities shows that the administrative authorities and the professors themselves are conscious of this want. But it is far from being sufficient, even in the interests of the schools, especially if we consider the prevalent tendency in most departments to make the cultivation of science and learning as such the main object. The consideration of the school and its requirements have been more and more pushed into the background, as is clear not only from the selection of authors that are lectured upon, and from the manner in which they are treated, but also from the lectures on natural science and mathematics.

Institutions for students living together, like the English colleges, do not exist in Germany, with very few exceptions. But when you see how they live, and to some extent must live, in large towns, and what they stand in need of, we may indeed wish to see some arrangements made to bring into harmony the advantages of such collegiate institutions with that freedom which is indispensable to a German student. Not only Döllinger at Münich, but Von Sybel at Bonn also has expressed his approval of an experiment of this kind being made. In fact, the idea of combining the university system with that of colleges is excellently adapted to the wants of the students: the introduction to learning and science by the lectures of great masters, and a social living together for the intellectual digestion of what has been taught and for their own exercise in scientific work. No one, however, will venture to assert that this idea has been realised in England.

The Scotch University Commission has not yet finished

its inquiries. Of the London University I shall have to speak in discussing the system of English examinations.

LETTER IX.

Head-masters' Conferences—The Universities and their Relation to the Schools—Local Examinations—The College of Preceptors.

Scarborough.

In my last letter I have shown what the government has undertaken, has done and not done, or has not been able to do, for the higher educational institutions. Its measures, as I have shown, refer almost exclusively to external arrangements: upon the whole of the internal affairs of the schools it has no influence, any more than upon the training, election, and appointment of masters. The state is jealously watched lest it should transgress the limits of its authority: it is the dread of a bureaucracy, to submit to which is a thought intolerable to Englishmen. But notwithstanding this, their schools submit, as it were, unconsciously to another and much more oppressive dependence, which, as we shall see, consists in the now prevailing system of examinations. To judge from the complaints I have heard, it is indeed quite possible that what they already have and see of bureaucracy and centralisation in their elementary schools may have increased this apprehension. In fact many of the ordinances issued for the endowed schools are more bureaucratic than anything known in Germany. The Act of 1869, for example, in reference to masters says, "In every scheme the Commissioners shall provide for the dismissal, at pleasure, of

every teacher and officer, including the principal teacher, with or without a power of appeal,—as to the Commissioners may seem expedient." Further, with us the curators (governing body) of an institution which is not supported by the state, are not prevented from selling advantageously, at their own discretion, any land belonging to the institution; in England the governors are obliged first to obtain the sanction of the Court of Chancery. In like manner the head-masters of endowed schools are not allowed, without the authorisation of the governors, to admit a boy whose parents do not reside in the place, or who is not boarded in a family recognised for the purpose; in Germany the determination of such matters is left to the discretion of the head-master.

Teachers are therefore resolved to defend themselves to the last against the encroachments of the state. This feeling is distinctly perceptible in the discussions at the conferences of the head-masters, of which I have already spoken. One of those who took part in them in 1872 describes as their object: "To organise among the masters in endowed schools some means of meeting and co-operating with or resisting, as the case might be, the power of the government;" another in 1874 says: "Our object is to form a defensive phalanx against some measures of the government, that are about to be passed into law, and to show that we have some existence."*

* Expressions of other head-masters to the same effect are: "The parliamentary tendency to rule us from above is a very noxious one indeed, rigid and controlling to the last degree, every year a heavier yoke, till at last we shall all of us be under the heels of some government official."—"If we are to have any freedom at all, we must keep our necks out of that yoke."—"When at Highgate somebody raised the ghost of state inspection, head-masters were seized with a panic."—"I

The call for such conferences proceeded in 1869 from the Rev. Edward Thring,* the head-master of the school at Uppingham; and in the circumstances of the higher schools at the time, the call was very welcome to many, as a first step to get out of their isolation. These conferences have been held in 1871 at the school at Highgate, in 1872 at Birmingham, in 1873 at Winchester, in 1874 at Dulwich, in 1875 at Clifton, and this year it is intended to hold the meeting in Marlborough College. The numbers attending fluctuated between fifty and seventy. In several places, for example at Dulwich, all were hospitably entertained at the expense of the head-master.

In reading the reports and minutes of these conferences I was soon struck by their difference from the protocols of the conferences of our Prussian head-masters, for while the latter at once take up the real questions and thoroughly discuss a great number of them,† the English meetings have still a great deal to do in constituting themselves and getting into working order. The complications of a parliamentary procedure, and all manner of preliminary questions, have hitherto absorbed a great deal of time. One of these questions in particular was whether,

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do not think we should like to see our education put into the hands of an educational minister. I do not think we should like to see political ideas introduced into our upper education. It would utterly do away with that free and full development of power, and that originality, which are the very characteristics and the glory of the upper-class education of England."

* Author of valuable school books, among them of a 'Latin Gradual,' of a peculiar method.

† An instructive survey of the protocols of the Prussian head-masters' conferences which have hitherto been held, has just been published by Professor Erler, Berlin, 1876.

besides the head-masters, assistant masters also were to be admitted. The subject has been very minutely discussed at several meetings, but no agreement has yet been come to. It was finally left to the individual members of the conference to discuss previously with their assistants the questions that were to be brought before the meeting—a thing which in Prussia is always done—and to the assistant masters to meet among themselves for the same purpose, in a manner similar to the numerous free associations in Germany. Wishes have also been expressed to hold "educational congresses, open to all teachers and examiners of first and second grade schools, and to all professors and teachers at the universities." They would resemble the great meetings of philologists and teachers in Germany.

The above-mentioned question is of greater importance in England than with us, and points to an essential difference between the higher schools of the two countries. In England the head-masters, as soon as at their conferences they have to consider practical questions about instruction, feel the necessity of having their assistant masters by their side. Here we see the consequences of the custom prevailing in England, according to which every teacher confines himself to his own department, and of the want of an organic connection in the internal management of the schools, where the head-master does not concern himself about what the several masters are doing; whether they have worked usefully and successfully, he learns from the results of the examinations. In Germany the head-master is not expected to be able to teach every subject of the other masters, *e.g.* mathematics, and the natural sciences; but he must at any rate be so

far acquainted with them as to be able to form an opinion upon the appropriateness and effectiveness of the teacher's method, and in case of need to direct his attention to any defect in his mode of proceeding. In England this is not expected, and hence the head-master allows each master in his own department to act as he pleases. If at their conferences the head-masters have to discuss these subjects of instruction, they are generally wanting in sufficient information, and without experience of their own. At each of their annual conferences the head-masters appoint an executive body to carry out the resolutions which have been adopted, *e.g.* to address memorials to the universities or to the Committee of Council on Education, and to make the necessary arrangements for next year's meeting. Recently head-masters of grammar schools of a lower grade have several times met in such conferences.

What has given rise to these different meetings and discussions, and the manner in which the discussions are carried on in them, prove that efforts are made to supply by their own resolutions that which in other countries is done in these respects by the guiding authorities. Among these things I may specially mention the impulse which the head-masters' conferences have given to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to hold *leaving examinations*, similar to the German *Abiturienten-Examen*, and to give certificates founded upon them.

What the head-masters want is not only a stronger union and a closer connection, but a guiding authority: this is the general feeling among them, though it is not expressed in so many words. But where is such an authority that could supply the place of a guiding administration, and might step in where the state cannot act? In particular

cases Englishmen readily acknowledge learned associations, which are universally respected, as authorities. Thus, *e.g.*, the British Association for the advancement of science was readily listened to when in 1869 it wished the condition of scientific instruction in the public schools to be inquired into. But by such means no real progress is made. In all public, and in not a few private relations, very great importance is attached in England to testimonials and recommendations, provided that the persons by whom they are given enjoy general esteem and confidence. The schools themselves are not in a condition to satisfy this want of testimonials in every respect; they are themselves obliged to receive directions for their mode of instruction from a higher authority supposed to belong to examiners who grant certificates.

Here the universities, especially those of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, have stepped in; in this respect they have for some years done a vast amount of good to the higher schools of the country. You may hear it said in England that Oxford and Cambridge have been led to this by the instinct of self-preservation; their inactivity, apparently connected with their wealth, was beginning to make them unpopular. Hence they stepped forward, and, offering their services to the schools, they voluntarily undertook to do for them work which no one else performed, and which is of the greatest interest to the country at large; by this means they very soon recovered their position. But what they do for the schools, and the manner in which they do it, must appear exceedingly strange to those who know only the continental universities, and have from them formed their conceptions of the proper sphere of their activity. With us

the universities are the high schools of real learning and science; the different faculties have, at any rate in their idea, philosophy as their common bond. The preparatory education attested by the certificates of maturity constitutes the universally recognised right to be admitted to a university.

What I have said before about the English universities, as forming the highest in the series of the higher educational institutions, will sufficiently prove that they do not correspond to this conception of ours. But in England it is thought that the education afforded, especially by Oxford and Cambridge, is the standard of mental culture in general, and belongs to the foundations of the nation's intellectual life, such as it is manifested in its representatives in the two Houses of Parliament. It is well-known that in the universities all sciences have their ablest representatives, and it is without hesitation assumed that they are the safest and most impartial judges. Thus they are undoubted authorities, and have imperceptibly acquired the character of the highest authority in scholastic matters.

In a former letter I spoke of the deeply felt defects in the education of the middle classes of the population. When the universities resolved to afford help in this direction, they might be sure of the approval of many. It was looked upon as an approximation between the higher and lower ranks of the educated part of the nation, as a breaking down of the barriers which had hitherto separated the high learned and scientific studies from the practical objects of instruction; it was like a revolution, and it proceeded from Oxford, the most conservative of the old universities.

A plan drawn up at Oxford in 1858 by Mr. T. D. Acland and Mr. F. Temple, who were joined by Prof. Max Müller, for holding *middle-class examinations* in the name of the university, and for granting certificates to all those who wished to prepare themselves for practical business, such as commerce, industry, or agriculture, was adopted and carried into effect. Two kinds of examinations were proposed to be held in different central localities, the first for junior boys, below the age of 15, and the second for seniors or boys below the age of 18.*

The great advantage of this scheme, which was at once obvious to the public, was the fact that by the subjects required for examination by so exalted a body, definite subjects of instruction were indicated, towards which both masters and pupils had to work. The names of the boys who had been examined, and the schools from which they came, were each time to be published, in order to make known in this way the success of the different institutions, which would at the same time be a recommendation of the head-master and his assistants. But those also were admitted who had prepared themselves privately, in order to encourage self-education; and those of the senior boys, who had passed the examination satisfactorily, were to have the privilege of calling themselves Associates in Arts of the University of Oxford, and of adding to their names A.A. Besides the diplomas and certificates, prizes (books, instruments, and scholarships) also are publicly given. Once, *e.g.*, such prizes were distributed at London in the Guildhall, when the Lord Mayor was in the chair, in the presence of the

* For details about these examinations, see Appendix No. III.

Bishop of London and other notabilities, and a numerous assemblage.

Many soon began to avail themselves of the offer of the university; even in 1859 such examinations were held in fifteen towns by delegates from Oxford, and five hundred and ninety-seven juniors and two hundred and ninety-nine seniors were examined. The number of the former is always larger, because after receiving their certificates they generally leave school; of the seniors some pass on to the university. The number of places desiring such examinations, and of the boys to be examined, is increasing from year to year. The examinations were afterwards extended to girls, likewise divided into juniors and seniors. They are now commonly called *Local Examinations*, while at first they were termed middle-class and non-gremial examinations. The example of Oxford was followed by Cambridge, Durham, Dublin, and Edinburgh, but without granting the title of Associate. The syndicate of the university elects the examiners from among the fellows. The locality in each town for holding the examinations is usually the town-hall. In the case of the examinations conducted by Oxford, every junior has to pay a fee of 15*s*., and every senior 30*s*. Oxford holds these examinations in May, and Cambridge in December. As the British colonies also wished to avail themselves of these arrangements, the examination questions are sent out to them in all directions. The number entered this year for the Oxford examination was 2141, of whom 624 were seniors (357 boys and 267 girls) and 1517 juniors (1201 boys and 316 girls); for the Cambridge examination in December of last year the number of entrants was 4435; they were examined in sixty-nine

centres for boys, and fifty-seven for girls; in the colonies seventy-nine were examined.

We thus see the universities condescending, and through their delegates occupying themselves with school-boys and school-girls of 12 and 13 years, putting questions on quite elementary subjects, as spelling, parsing, handwriting, the first elements of arithmetic, geography, &c., and examining the answers sent in. I need not say a word on the importance of these things themselves; and there is no doubt that not only the fellows, but even the professors of the university, and men high in science and learning, may have sufficient interest and ability to undertake such work. I remember Mr. Mark Pattison's (now Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford) visit to Berlin, and the excellent manner in which he inquired into the subject of elementary schools in Prussia. The thoroughness of his observations is clear from his printed report (1871). The question, however, is: Is it the business of a university as such, to occupy itself with these things in the manner in which it is done in England?

We in Germany are of opinion that it is not; in England, on the other hand, the voluntary action of the universities in the affairs of the schools is approved of, though not universally. Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered in 1858, praised the resolution of the University of Oxford, and said that by thus embracing all the intellectual interests of the whole nation, from the lowest to the highest stage, it returned to its original destination of a "University." How many different meanings have been given in the course of time to the word *Universitas?* First it was to be a union of the corporations of students; next a *communio magistrorum et*

scholarium; next a union of all the sciences; and now the comprising of all intellectual stages, from the lowest to the highest. In England the first and the last of these meanings are most generally adopted.

When some head-masters discovered the inconveniences for the school, as a whole, arising from individual pupils only being prepared for the examinations, and accordingly proposed that some one should be delegated rather to examine the whole institution, the universities were willing to undertake this duty also. Even before this, fellows had been sent for a similar purpose at the request of heads of private schools, who were anxious to be able to point to such a connection with Oxford as a recommendation of their schools. Public schools, too, put themselves into a sort of clientship to a university, or a similar institution, and belong, as it were, to its retinue, in order to have some guaranteeing connection, and thereby to secure greater confidence with the public. Several institutions, *e.g.*, add in their prospectus, "in connection with South Kensington" (intimating that they teach practical subjects, *realia*), or "in union with King's College, London." The latter thereby acquires the right of occasionally visiting the school, like a government inspector. These visitations generally consist in written questions being put to the pupils, which they have to answer. But I will not enter here upon the subject of examinations. Those delegated to visit a school usually live in the house of the head-master, and are paid by him for their trouble.

We cannot recognise in this arrangement an equivalent for the official objectivity, with which a perfectly independent school authority proceeds. Nor is it the same as

the arrangement in Bavaria, the only large state of Germany that has no permanent department for the government of schools provided with technical powers; for there Commissions, composed of professors and teachers, are appointed from time to time to deliberate about school questions, or to visit the schools in the name of the government; for such visits the schools have, of course, not to pay anything.

Oxford and Cambridge, moreover, have endeavoured to supply the want of a government administration by their holding, ever since 1874, a kind of *Abiturienten*-Examination (for certificates), while the London University has already, for years, had its Matriculation Examinations. In Germany the standard of requirements for such examinations is fixed by the government, and the same examination is held at the close of the curriculum in all the schools of the same category. In England they are held at different times during the school course, and more rarely for those who have gone through the entire course than for other pupils of the higher forms who desire it, but also for boys of fifteen years, and even below that age. The two universities have now come to an understanding about these examinations, and proceed according to regulations agreed upon by both; in most colleges those who have passed are afterwards exempted from the first university examination. By means of such a certificate young men entering upon the study of medicine, law, upon a military career, or the study of architecture, are exempted from what is called the previous examination. Schools may accept, or not, as they please, the offer of such examinations; many have accepted it, but others, like the Charterhouse, have not; others, again, prefer the

examinations of the London University, which certainly is more strictly defined, and has more of the character of the German *Abiturienten-Examen.* The system is perfectly voluntary on the part of the schools, as well as on that of the universities; in like manner it is left to the option of the public and the government as to whether they will recognise the certificates or not.

It is not unnatural that the higher schools should prefer the supervision and influence of the universities exercised in the manner described to the dependence on a state authority; but it is, nevertheless, strange that in one direction there should be so much mistrust, and in the other so much readiness as to renounce all independence and co-operation. What could have been more natural than for the head-masters to unite together and to request the universities, *in conjunction with themselves,* to fix the subjects of instruction and the requirements for the examinations? This has not been done; the rules laid down by the universities, with all their details and provisoes, are accepted at once and without hesitation, and are spoken of as if they were the ordinances of a legally constituted authority. I heard a head-master say: "*We are now allowed* the same latitude in modern languages that we are in classics, and that is an important concession."

The active and patriotic endeavours of the English universities to promote the general interest of culture are manifested also in the manner in which they extend their teaching powers to other localities. Wherever it is desired they send travelling teachers to deliver courses of lectures; this has been done by Cambridge with great success, especially at Sheffield and Nottingham, both of

which towns have spent large sums upon such lectures. The subjects are history, literature, and especially political economy, in which working men also are interested, and which they can discuss in their meetings. Married women and girls also may attend. The universities further also hold examinations on the subjects of the lectures and give certificates. The written answers on several subjects, according to the reports, contain not much more than a reproduction of what had been said by the lecturers; they are "a repetition of formulated phrases in place of an intelligent assimilation and reproduction of their general purport."

The universities, further, with praiseworthy readiness give their assistance to the formation of new educational establishments. Balliol and New College of Oxford give each annually 300*l.*, to promote University College at Bristol, and this is only one out of many instances.

In Scotland there is no such connection between the higher schools and the universities as in England, which is explained by their difference from the old English universities. But from 1861 to 1873, parochial schoolmasters were examined by the Scottish universities.

There are yet other places and other associations which from a sense of their being wanted, are endeavouring to perform for schools the functions of government. Such is the case, among others, of the *Society of Arts*, a society for promoting scientific and practical objects, which at the time was specially patronised by the late Prince Consort. After it had acquired a name by its activity, and gained the approbation of the public, it offered to conduct examinations and grant certificates of knowledge on subjects connected

with practical life; for this purpose it has established examining commissions in about one hundred towns. The certificates, as in all such cases, are considered to be of value, because and as long as the society itself is respected. In several places educational boards have been formed. One exists, *e.g.*, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which has been formed by the bishop of the diocese, a member of Parliament, and other persons of influence; its object is to examine pupils of mechanics' institutes, of evening schools, and similar institutions. The most important among such free associations is the *College of Preceptors* in London. In the year 1846 a number of teachers met there with the intention of promoting education in every way, but chiefly among the middle classes. The association wished principally to direct its attention to the training of teachers, and to afford opportunities for acquiring certificates of qualification to be obtained by examinations.* In 1849 it received the rights of a corporation by royal charter, and has since that time carried on its work, which increases year by year. Its operation embraces the following points.

1. It grants diplomas to teachers who have not been in a position to study at a university and to obtain a degree, after they have passed examinations either as Asso-

* According to their own words the association was formed "for the purpose of promoting sound learning and of advancing the interests of education, especially among the middle classes, by affording facilities to the teacher for acquiring a knowledge of his profession, and by providing for the periodical session of a competent board of examiners, to ascertain and give certificates of the acquirements and fitness for their office of persons engaged, or desiring to be engaged, in the education of youth."

ciates, Licentiates, or as Fellows of the College. The difference is one of degree, according to the amount of knowledge required. The theory and practice of education are subjects of examination at all the three different stages. Lady teachers also are examined and obtain certificates.

2. Since 1854, it has every half-year held examinations for boys and girls, similar to those subsequently instituted by Oxford and Cambridge at their already mentioned local examinations. In the year 1859 two hundred and thirty-six persons were examined; last year, however, the number who came forward from about one hundred and fifty schools to be examined by the college amounted to about two thousand eight hundred. In like manner it sends its delegates, when desired, to examine whole schools, both public and private.

3. It possesses a very well-attended training class for teachers, gives lectures on pedagogy and the methods of instruction, and has founded a special chair for a professor of the science and art of education.

4. It publishes a pedagogic monthly journal, called the *Educational Times*.

The efforts of the college to induce the government to establish a seminary (normal school) for the higher schools similar to those which have been established and endowed for elementary schools, have hitherto been unsuccessful. During the present year it has commenced a movement to induce the government to appoint a special educational council as a board of inspectors for the supervision of public and private secondary schools.

The members of the college meet every month, on which occasions lectures also are given. The Council of

the college includes a great many well-known men, and its presidents have not unfrequently been the head-masters of the great public schools.

The first-class certificates granted by the college to young persons are regarded by the legal, medical, and other societies and corporations as satisfactory proofs of general culture; further, several societies have their entrance examinations on the subjects of general culture conducted by the college.

The college has shown praiseworthy consistency and perseverance in its various pedagogic endeavours in spite of many hostile attacks and want of appreciation. It is a matter of course, that the certificates it grants do not everywhere meet with the same recognition. In a few instances the title of Associate or Licentiate had at first been conferred without proper inquiry upon unqualified persons. Such occurrences point to the weak side of the undertaking; the relation between the college and the various persons and institutions connected with it is too distant, and has no sufficiently firm basis. Experiences of the above description have, however, not remained unfruitful to the college, and, as is proved by the ever-widening sphere of its activity, public confidence has of late greatly increased.

Next to directing its attention to the training and the examination of teachers, the Council of the college have made it their task to raise the social position of teachers, and to encourage an *esprit de corps* among them. In order to attain this object, the college has for several years been incessantly endeavouring to obtain registration by the government for teachers in public and private schools, in other words, to obtain a legal enactment that

no one shall be accepted as a teacher, who does not possess a certificate from some recognised board of examiners, and who is not registered by them; in which case the college confidently expects its certificates to be recognised. At present registration exists for legal and medical, as well as for pharmaceutical practitioners, and it guarantees that the persons in question are of respectable character; in the case of teachers, this law for excluding those unfit for their duties has not yet been secured. The repeated observation that, as government takes measures for the bodily health against quackery in medicine, the same care is still more necessary in the case of the soul and the mind, has hitherto been of no avail.

Article twenty-two of the Prussian Constitution permits everyone to give instruction, to establish schools, and to conduct them, *provided* he has proved to the state authorities that he possesses the moral, scientific, and technical qualifications. In England the first part of this proposition has been adopted without any condition, and this liberty is tenaciously adhered to; the principle of free trade, they say, must be maintained in education as in other matters; here too supply and demand must be left to act on each other, and the public must not be deprived of the advantages of competition.

The reserve of the government in regard to the urgent requests of the College of Preceptors in this matter is not unnatural. The college claims for itself an authority, by which its certificates would acquire a definite public value. But the government is not in a position to test the standard according to which the certificates for the different kinds of instruction and schools are granted

by the college, and to estimate its relation to the examination standards of the old universities, and hence it is unable to reconcile any differences that may exist between them. The appeal to what has been done for the legal and medical corporations does not meet the question, because their affairs are more equal and simple.

LETTER X.

The present System of Examinations in Universities and Schools—Competitive Examinations.

Scarborough.

THE only subject of this letter shall be the English system of examinations. It has become so much extended and is so important, that after having had several occasions to speak about examinations, I think I must now devote a special letter to them.

Last century, and even at the beginning of the present, pupils, students, and candidates for office were rarely examined; it was thought to be of no particular importance. Not very long ago a real examination was not thought necessary for medical and legal practice, for the architect, the naval captain, the officer in the army, &c. Testimonials and recommendations were thought to be sufficient attestations of the qualification of the candidates for the object in view. Cases were not uncommon like that of the young teacher who presented himself for examination to the school inspector, and who during a walk with him was examined without knowing it, because there had been many opportunities of displaying natural intelligence and readiness.

All this has gradually become totally changed, and the present mania for examination is an excess of English energy. The admission to most offices is at present only through the narrow gate of an examination. In like manner, scarcely any benefice can be obtained without a previous examination. The universities have set the example.* Twenty-five years ago I found at Oxford much more undisturbed devotion to study and a real interest in the subjects; at present, go when you like, you will find few men belonging to the university who are not actively or passively engaged in some examination. The number of fellows who can still devote themselves to a comfortable or contemplative life has become small; the examinations no longer leave them any rest. If you take up any English educational journal, you will find that no subject is more frequently spoken of than examinations, either past or future, certificates, degrees, scholarships, and prizes obtained; to this there are always added lists of the examined, and the names of the schools in which they have been prepared. If a man is to be honourably mentioned, or recommended for any purpose, his name is always accompanied by a statement of the examination he has passed, and the degree, title, and distinctions he has obtained.

How heavily this system of examinations weighs upon the schools on account of the disturbances in the course of instruction, the nature of the demands, the great expense and other inconveniences, may be seen, among other things, from the minutes of the head-masters' conferences, at which hitherto scarcely any other subject

* "The iron of examination which has entered into the soul of the nation was forged at Oxford and Cambridge."

has been talked of. Nevertheless the advantages appear to many teachers to overbalance the disadvantages. One of them said to me: "We were before like the Israelites when they had no king; every one acted as he thought fit: since the net of examinations has been spread over our schools we know what we have to do." But let us look at the matter more closely.

In regard to the schools which are here principally to be considered, that is, the numerous endowed schools, we first have the examinations for admission which are almost universally introduced; next come the class examinations, and in most cases also examinations for promotion from one form to another; lastly, frequent examinations by delegates sent from universities. I have before me a printed scheme from a school which is probably intended also as a guide for the pupils; in it there are fixed no fewer than forty-four examinations for the highest class from the 17th of June to the 22nd of July of the present year. Besides this the Endowed Schools Act prescribes that there shall be annually an extraordinary general examination.* In schools of a practical nature, if they desire it, "government examinations are held by the Science and Art Department." Many individual scholars undergo special examinations to compete for school or

* "There shall be once in every year an examination of scholars by an examiner or examiners appointed for that purpose by the governors, and paid by them, but unconnected with the school. The examiners shall report to the governors on the proficiency of the scholars and on the position of the school as regards instruction and discipline as shown by the result of the examination. The governors shall communicate the report to the head-master."—For every school examination four guineas per day have to be paid to every delegate sent by the university, besides his travelling and lodging expenses. Some institutions, such as Eton, pay very much more.

university scholarships and other benefices. Those who contemplate leaving a school moreover prepare for an examination for a certificate, or for the matriculation examination in the London University. In order not to disturb these preparations several schools now no longer send any seniors to the local examinations (p. 119, &c.).

Oxford and Cambridge annually publish their very detailed regulations for holding the examination for certificates. Sealed questions, to which written answers have to be returned, are sent to the head-master; the real examination is conducted by a delegate from the universities, who alone examines. In the regulations for 1876 four groups are specified:—

1. Latin, Greek, French, and German.
2. Lower and higher Mathematics.
3. Bible Knowledge, English, and History.
4. Mechanics, Chemistry, Botany, Geology, and Physical Geography.

In order to obtain a certificate every one must give satisfaction in at least four subjects, which are taken from at least three groups; and whoever passes in one subject from the second or fourth group may take the other three from group one. No one is allowed to take up more than six subjects. The written answers must contain evidence that the candidate possesses a sufficient knowledge of English orthography and grammar. The books and sections of authors that have to be translated are made known long beforehand, and it is left optional to take up either the easier or more difficult ones, just as in the written questions. But in addition passages from authors not named (unseen work) are required to be translated into English. It is not required to write free essays in Latin,

but, like the performances in Latin and Greek versification, they are highly valued when they are done in any way satisfactorily.

All these, so far as they are conducted by the universities, are *non-gremial* examinations. Now what are the examinations *in gremio Universitatis?*

I have already mentioned that those who enter a university cannot at once give themselves up to professional studies, but must think of the preliminary examinations in order to obtain the degree of B.A. For this purpose three examinations are necessary at Oxford:

1. The Little Go, also called Responsions, which takes place in the first year. It has been already remarked that those who can produce certificates may be exempted from it (p. 66).

2. Moderations, or first public examination, which takes place in the second year. Those who only desire to satisfy the simplest requirements (the ancient languages, knowledge of the New Testament, two books of Euclid and Arithmetic) are called passmen; those who aim at honours have to satisfy higher demands, sometimes to compose Latin and Greek verses, to undergo an examination in logic, &c., and are called classmen.

3. The Great Go, which takes place after three years of study, and is the final examination upon which the diploma of B.A. is granted. Classmen, after having passed moderations, may proceed to their special studies in the ancient languages or in mathematics, or in the natural sciences, or in modern history and legislation, for which purpose standard books are always recommended to be studied. Before being admitted to the final examination students must present themselves for examination to the

professor of the branch of knowledge selected for special study. Most men prefer studying the classics, because they have been accustomed by their public school life to attach greater importance to them. The third examination is conducted only in writing, the preceding ones are both oral and written.

The course at Cambridge does not differ materially from this, except that there, according to ancient custom, more knowledge of mathematics is required. In every college there is moreover at least one special annual examination. After three years every one may take part in a competitive examination in mathematics, in literature, in the moral and natural sciences, or in history and the knowledge of law. This examination is called Tripos,* because there are three degrees. Those who have obtained the first degree, and have passed the difficult examination in mathematics, are called *Wranglers;* those of the second degree are called *Seniores Optimi;* and those of the third degree, *Juniores Optimi.* Whoever at Cambridge satisfies all the requirements in Classics and Mathematics is termed a *Double First.* At Oxford this honourable designation can now be obtained by passing either in Classics and Mathematics, or in Classics and History, or in Classics and Chemistry.

The examination for the degree of B.A. is in reality no more than the *Abiturienten* examination in Germany. It is true the requirements to some extent go beyond our *Abiturienten* examinations, but the majority of the candidates are said to show very little knowledge. Dr. W. Whewell, the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge,

* The Tripos was orignally the three-legged chair occupied by the person to be examined.

said: "We give university honours for mere school-boy work."*

The next degree of M.A. is acquired in Oxford and Cambridge in the sixth year after matriculation, and without any new examination; but a B.A. must keep his name all that time on the books of the university and on those of his college, and pay an annual fee.

The little University of *Durham* has the right of granting the degree of M.D., whence the pupils of the Medical Institute in the neighbouring town of Newcastle proceed thither for one year for the purpose of passing there the requisite examination: others prefer doing this in the University of London, where, according to its special arrangement, a previous residence is not required.

The *University of London* is of an entirely different character from all the others. It was founded in 1837, in opposition to the two ancient universities, which originated in the middle ages, and were connected with the English Church; it has no tradition and no endowment, and is not connected with any Church; it is neither destined to educate nor to teach, but only to examine and to confer degrees and diplomas. Respecting University College and University College School, which are connected with the university as institutions for instruction, I have already spoken (p. 64). The London university holds half-yearly matriculation examinations in London itself, in other

* The condemnatory judgment of another university professor upon the first two examinations is still more severe. "Responsions and pass moderations are examinations which it is an indignity to require a man to undergo who has arrived at years of discretion. That such examinations, which ought to be easy for a boy of fourteen, should be found too hard for a large proportion of the candidates, says but little for the education given in our English schools."

towns of England,* and in the Colonies. The degree of B.A. also can be obtained in London *in absentiâ*. Young men may be entered for the matriculation examination at the age of sixteen, for the B.A. at seventeen, and for the M.A. at nineteen. For the first of these examinations twenty-eight hours in five days are set apart, of which sixteen hours are devoted to Latin, Greek, and English, and the rest to Mathematics, and the Natural Sciences of Physics and Chemistry. The sciences are there considered of greater importance than is generally the case at Oxford and Cambridge. No one can pass the Matriculation examination without a satisfactory knowledge of physics and chemistry. Among the ancient languages, Latin is always one of the subjects of examination. Mr. G. Grote, who was for a long time Vice-Chancellor of the University, advocated the claims of Greek also against the utilitarians. He was indeed an admirer of the natural sciences, but he was at the same time of opinion that in our time they would support themselves, while the acquisition of the ancient languages, which promised less immediate gain, required a stimulus and encouragement. Nevertheless two years ago Greek was taken away from the obligatory subjects at matriculation, and it was permitted instead of it to pass an examination in German.

Many schools arrange their course of instruction according to the requirements of the London matriculation examination. The certificates there obtained are a passport to legal, medical, military, and other institutions, and the degrees obtained in that university are held in high

* For the month of June of the present year there were appointed besides the examination in London provincial examinations at Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Tullamore, Stonyhurst, and Ushaw.

esteem on account of the generally acknowledged strictness of the examinations. Degrees can be obtained in Literature, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, Medicine and Law.* There are two examinations for the degree of B.A., the first is only preliminary, and no one has a right to the title of B.A. until he has passed a second examination one year after the first. The candidates for honours here as elsewhere have to pass a severer examination than the others. Ever since the year 1867 women also, after having attained the age of seventeen, are admitted and examined separately. More than fifty institutions in the British empire are in connection with the university. Preparations are now also made at Edinburgh for establishing a London University Institute of Scotland, because many parochial schoolmasters wish to qualify themselves for London degrees, principally because they can obtain them *in absentiâ*, which is not the case in Edinburgh. Upon the model of the London University others have been established at Toronto in Canada, at Melbourne and Sydney in Australia, and at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in India.

With the exception of Durham, as already mentioned, there are only three places in England proper where examinations for degrees are held, viz., Oxford, Cambridge, and London. In England it is thought that Germany has too many such places, and that among them there is too little agreement as to the principles according to which degrees are conferred. This latter point cannot be denied, if we compare the conditions on which the different

* The degrees obtainable in the University of London are more numerous than in the other universities; they are B.A., M.A., Dr. Lit., B. Sc., Dr. Sc., B.LL., Dr. LL., B.M., Dr. M., B.S., Dr. S.

German universities grant the degree of Doctor in Philosophy and the distinction of a Doctor in Divinity. Yet in England too there is a considerable difference in the value of degrees and certificates, according to the different places and institutions in which they are granted. A man wishing to obtain the M.A. in London has to pass an examination which is not easy, while at Oxford and Cambridge the same degree is acquired without examination. The old universities confer the degree of Doctor only *honoris causa*, while in London it can be obtained only by a stiff examination. In Scotland there is no B.A. degree, and the M.A. can be obtained only after four years' attendance at a University, or after three years, if the candidate on entering has passed an examination in Latin and Greek.*

In regard to the proceeding at the examinations, it consists, with few exceptions, in laying printed questions before the candidates; an oral examination takes place but rarely, and to a very limited extent in the modern languages, as is the case also in the local examinations. When the University or the College of Preceptors send their visitors to schools, the examinations are also partially conducted *vivâ voce*. In the instruction given to examiners by the old universities, it is recommended to address the questions, not to individual scholars, but to larger groups. It is made known sometimes even two years beforehand, from what works or parts of a Latin or Greek author† the passages to be translated are to be

* Besides the M.A. degree and those in law and medicine there are in Edinburgh also B. Sc. and Dr. Sc.; and further B. Agr. and M. Agr. (Agriculture) and B. Sc. Mach. (Scientia Machinalis).

† Thus the London University made it known in July 1875, that at

selected, or what play of Shakspeare, what work of Bacon, Milton, and others, are expected to be examined upon. Persons superintending the candidates while answering the examination papers are appointed by the universities, and the papers are then sent to the examiner who has drawn up the questions, to be looked over by him and valued. A fixed number of marks is assigned to the correct answer of every question. The number of marks obtained by all the candidates is sent in, and the candidate is then declared either to have passed or to have been rejected, according to the number of his marks. Several questions more or less difficult in the different departments are always left to the option of the candidate to answer.

I have had opportunities of perusing a large number of papers with the answers of the candidates. The questions in most cases seem to me to have been chosen and expressed with a thorough knowledge of the subject and with educational discretion; but I have certainly also seen other questions from which it was at once evident that they were not the work of practical teachers, but the results of special studies which had led the examiners to forget what should be expected from school-boys. Studies in comparative philology, specially stimulated by Max Müller at Oxford, are now pursued by many Englishmen; but is it reasonable to put to school-boys of fifteen or sixteen years, as was done this summer, the following question: "Illustrate the way in which the science of comparative philology may be applied in the investigation of pre-

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the first B.A. examination in 1877, passages of Latin would be taken from Livy, Book IX., and from Horace's Epistles, and in Greek from Xenophon's Cyrop., B. I.

historic times?" I often observed a great discrepancy between the texts selected for translation and the grammatical questions connected with them.* But the examiners evidently knew what they had to expect: they had often been enabled to give high marks for translations but not for grammatical answers; from the latter I had to draw the undoubted inference that the passage though correctly translated was sometimes not understood. This may be explained if we consider what different uses may be made of the early publication of the authors selected.

In regard to the historical questions, I had expected to find that in England instruction about the political constitution was given in all the schools, and that, accordingly, questions about it would be put in all the examinations; but this was not the case, and the questions almost exclusively referred to facts, names, and dates. At the local examinations, the seniors are generally also examined in political economy; every one that is at all educated is expected to make himself acquainted at an early period with such works as Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations;" this arises from the national predilection for commerce and legal questions.

The *examiners* are appointed at Oxford and Cambridge by the colleges, by a committee, or by the syndics; but in the University of London by the senate. In Scotland the teaching professors are at the same time examiners; but ever since 1858 others have been associated with them as assistants. In London University College School, the masters themselves examine their pupils, and their

* Instances of various kinds are put together in the Appendix, No. IV.

judgment is final. But this is a rare mode of proceeding. It is a principle with the universities to have frequent changes of examiners. Hence, and because of the large numbers of examiners required, especially at Oxford and Cambridge, in order to get through the excessive examination work, it sometimes happens that the business is intrusted to inexperienced men. I have often heard complaints about young tutors having been made examiners, when it was suggested that the professors, the real representatives of learning and science, ought to guide and control the examinations of the two universities more than is the case at present.

The present unusual extension of the system of examinations in England is seen most strikingly in the *competitive examinations* which were introduced about twenty years ago, and which have to be gone through by all who seek employment in the public service, in offices connected with the Customs or the Revenue, the Post-office, the Admiralty, &c. The cause of this innovation arose in India. Many abuses had been observed there in the manner in which appointments had been given by the East India Company to relations, connections, friends, &c., and in consequence of this an Act of Parliament was passed in 1853, ordaining that thenceforth the right to enter the Indian Civil Service should depend upon passing an examination. The college at Haileybury, where until then the candidates nominated by the company were prepared for the service, was abolished, and a Commission, headed by Lord Macaulay, drew up a general plan of examination by which the appointments were to be decided. According to this plan, young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three (afterwards between

the ages of seventeen and twenty-one) were permitted to present themselves for examination. They are now examined in the English language and history, in Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, pure and applied mathematics, natural science, philosophy, Sanscrit, and Arabic. Every candidate has to state in which of these subjects he wishes to be examined, and those who have attained the highest number of marks for their work are selected for appointments. By good answers in English history and law up to 1000 marks may be obtained, by the English essay up to 500, by the work in Latin and Greek up to 750 each, by each of the natural sciences 500, by German, French, Italian or Sanscrit 375 each.*

The selected candidates have then to prepare themselves for the Indian Service in any place they may choose for two years, during which they have to pass every six months examinations in a variety of subjects before proceeding to India. In the first competitive examination in 1855, out of one hundred and thirteen candidates, only twenty were selected.

This innovation was at first very generally approved, because it arose out of a reaction against patronage; it was thought that the examinations would be a guarantee against appointments being given through family interest, political partisanship, or personal favour, and it was hoped that henceforth only acknowledged ability and merit would determine the appointments. Confidence and the bonds of friendship, it was said, are fine things, but the

* The admission to the Royal Military Academy likewise depends upon a competitive examination. Mathematics there has the highest number of marks, viz., 4000. English, Latin, Greek, French and German have each 2000.

welfare of the state cannot be built upon them. Competition is useful everywhere; the whole life of man is a race; and the new system of examinations will compel candidates to cultivate those qualities which are indispensable to a public servant: presence of mind in quickly seeing his way, cool-headedness, precision in what he has to say, and other things. Lord Palmerston also supported the measure in this spirit, and from the mental exertion rendered necessary by the preparation for the examination, he expected a lasting effect upon the officials selected. The fact that greater stress was laid upon general intellectual culture than upon professional preparation was likewise approved of. The officials, it was said, must take with them a good supply of it, because in the distant parts of India they often remain for months far from all intercourse with educated men; and it was frequently found that Englishmen, without any real professional training but provided with a thorough general culture, had filled public offices with distinction.

But opponents of the measure were not wanting either; they at once declared the principle to be false: the things of highest importance, they said—a trustworthy character, resoluteness, sense of honour, common sense and tact in the treatment of difficult circumstances —cannot be discovered from written answers to scientific questions. The saying that knowledge is power is true enough, but it is a mistake to think that public virtues also are implied in it; and if the mere ability to answer on paper questions from memory is to decide an appointment, other efforts of the candidates to recommend themselves and to win confidence will cease. The preparation with most men will aim at storing their

memory for a short time with a mass of facts, whereby an injury is done to their taste for scientific study and to their mental strength, and that too at a time when these qualities are in a state of development: English education in general will be thereby injured and lowered. It is not *la carrière ouverte aux talents*, but a *struggle between crammers*. We wish for justice, which shall exclude every personal consideration; but as long as human hearts have not the rigid regularity of a steam-engine, such rigorous virtue exists only in the imagination.

When at last during the first years several mistakes were made at the examinations, a thing which could not be avoided, the malcontents expressed themselves still more strongly. They could point to the unsuitableness of several questions, such as, "What are the principal merits and defects in Plato and Aristotle as philosophers?" "What were the distinctive opinions of the Old, the Middle, and the New Academy?" "What was the condition of the life of the Athenian citizens in the time of Pericles, and at Rome in the time of Augustus?" Such questions were to be answered by young people, who, perhaps, for a long time to come could look to nothing but a moderately paid office of clerk, or had the prospect of being obliged for years to perform the petty services in a custom-house or a post-office. To this was added the fact that many of those who had been examined proved inefficient officers, especially as a new kind of industry speedily sprang up professing to prepare young people in a short time for these examinations.* In consequence of this art of cramming, it happened for example that a young

* The slang expression is to "coach" candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

man by his apparent knowledge of some speciality gained prizes, and on the first occasion, when great expectations were entertained of him in regard to that very speciality, he was found to be the greatest ignoramus. Even the advocates of the measure could not assert that the quality of the public servants as such had become better since the introduction of the competitive examinations.

The applications of those who had attended a university became fewer from year to year; they were unwilling to submit, with a number of others, to an examination in which the thorough study of a few subjects and the development of character were of no avail. The present government, therefore, has begun to encourage the attendance at a university, by offering scholarships to those aspiring to a position in the public service. You may form a conception of the extent of work which the Civil Service Commissioners have to go through, when I tell you that in the eighteen months from July, 1872, till December, 1873, they had to deal with 23,261 applicants, and besides this, with 643 candidates for India.

It is not to be expected that this arrangement will soon be given up, although its insufficiency has been clearly proved, and although those also have become more sober-minded who formerly saw in it the safety of the state. Many acquiesce in the supposed necessity, and think, as Mr. Gladstone expressed himself in a speech delivered in 1861, that a free devotion to study from a love of the subject is no doubt nobler and better, but that we must accommodate ourselves to given circumstances, that for the England of the nineteenth century examinations are the best means of education, and that

it is the period of examinations just as it is the period of free trade, of railroads, and of steam-engines.

The military department to which competitive examinations have likewise been extended, shows more distinctly that it is a great mistake to regard the knowledge displayed at a written examination as the qualification for a special calling. In Germany we make a much greater distinction between these things. While in England the degree acquired in a university suffices to prove the qualification for the office of teacher, with us the conferring the degree of doctor exempts neither the teacher, nor the physician, nor the lawyer from the special official examination. There must of course be examinations, and although Mr. Aug. Reichensperger may, perhaps, be right in saying that all the great architects of the middle ages would be plucked in a modern examination of architects, we cannot on that account declare the examination of architects to be unnecessary. But here, as elsewhere, everything depends upon the right arrangement of the examinations, and upon estimating them at their real value.

By far the greater part of the examinations in England are conducted in writing. It is the general opinion there that only that can be regarded as real knowledge which a person can write down briefly, clearly, and concisely. But this is only half true, and does not justify its almost exclusive application to the young. A proper oral examination can discover much more easily than a written one that which has been acquired only by cramming without having been properly digested and having thereby become a real mental possession; a written answer may have to be regarded as erroneous, but in an oral examina-

tion affording the candidate an opportunity of explaining himself more fully, it may be found to be the result of praiseworthy reflection.

Too little distinction, moreover, is made between what is good for the school and the boy, and what can be expected from a more mature age. In the case of an adult we may expect his knowledge to have reached a certain completeness; we may ask him such things as must be attained under all circumstances: in the case of school-boys, on the other hand, it is of much more importance to see *how* they have learnt, whether they know how to be attentive and to understand a subject correctly, and whether their mental powers in general are in a state of proper development. In like manner we cannot approve of the fact that in England, in all these examinations, the added-up number of marks should determine the fate of candidates: the living man is not an arithmetical problem.

There can be no doubt that the examinations of schools and scholars instituted by the universities and the College of Preceptors have produced a good effect on many an institution, that they have increased the eagerness to learn, and have set in motion the stagnating waters, more especially by publishing the results of the examinations, because an institution which carries through none or only a few scholars loses confidence with the public. But the public in this case may be greatly deceived; and we in Germany consider this very stimulus unsuited for the teachers as well as for the pupils, and we do not wish to see the quiet course of instruction disturbed in the manner in which it is done in England. We regard the school as too good a thing for such a purpose; it has

higher aims than those of a "racing stable," as some one in England expressed himself in speaking of its schools. It not unfrequently happens that boys of no more than fourteen years, who have over-exerted themselves in order to gain a scholarship, afterwards, especially if they have not succeeded in the race and have not gained a prize, are for a long time exhausted, incapable, and unwilling to work. We, too, have scholarships in many of our schools, and know that they may be a great blessing; but they are given according to the judgment of the teachers to pupils who need them and have recommended themselves by their diligence, their progress, and their good conduct. In England I have heard some teachers complain of "the scholarship-hunting fever" among their pupils;* and the same is continued at the university, which is to many only "a goose that lays golden eggs, and their object is to get as many of them as they can." The golden eggs are the exhibitions and fellowships. It is the opinion of English university professors that the method of preparing for the examinations inflicts only too often an irreparable injury, and destroys all freedom in the pursuit of learning and science; nothing is studied from a love of the subject, but only as a means of gaining a high number of marks at the examinations: what a different picture would these young men present, if, unfettered by such anxiety, they could with freedom look around them and strive onwards, "without fancying an examiner in every bush."

It is further felt by head-masters and teachers to be a

* "We must all have felt," said one of them, "that it is a growing danger that boys should be led to consider the reward rather than the sheer love of learning."

great inconvenience that they have to occupy themselves principally with those pupils who intend to go up for examination, and that these boys, when the examination is held in a distant town, have to be sent for several days to a strange place; further, that the universities and the College of Preceptors choose such different text books, whence there arises for the teachers the trouble of preparing all for their different authors, as some pupils go to one place and others to another to be examined. All this and the frequent interruptions in the regular course of instruction for the sake of the examinations, produce far more injurious disturbances in what are the real objects of the school than we have to bear and compensate for in the arrangements of our higher schools. In our whole system of examining a school we pay more attention to its real object; we hold the examinations, as is natural, in the schools themselves, and do not hand over our boys to be examined by outsiders who do not know them, and from whom, according to the nature of the arrangement, they can receive no information in that in which they are wanting; we examine, moreover, much less frequently, and attach greater value to oral examinations, because they afford greater opportunities of becoming acquainted with the whole man; nor do we isolate the examinations in the manner in which it is done in England, and we even regard the leaving examination (*Abiturienten-Prüfung*) only as the completion of the preceding course of instruction, and by no means as deciding the ability of a young man to enter a university.

Examinations and prizes are looked upon in England as the most effective means of producing the desired effect; other means are either unknown, or are not attempted.

The administrations of German schools are more concerned about securing the right way to the goal, and about seeing it rightly followed. The number of candidates for the leaving examination who have privately prepared themselves, is comparatively very small. In England attention is almost exclusively directed to the demonstrable final result. From time to time something like an alarum bell sounds throughout the country: Come and be examined! And they come, boys and girls, young and old, having crammed into themselves as much knowledge as they could. How they have acquired what they know is never asked, nor are they shown what is the best method; and yet what work could after all be more worthy of a university than to point this out? Results! results! this is characteristic of England, and best explains the present high value set upon examinations in schools and universities.

The apparent grandeur and vastness of this system of examination, according to which the same set of printed papers distributed over England and sent all over the world, to Canada, the Mauritius, &c., has nothing imposing for us. Where is the difference between this and the mechanical centralisation of the French, which enabled the Minister of Instruction at Paris, on looking at his watch, to tell a stranger what chapter of Cæsar was read at that hour in all the Lycées of France? We consider it a great and unnecessary trouble to print such simple elementary questions, as many of them must needs be, from grammar, geography, biblical history, &c., and to send them over the wide world. The English have transplanted the same system of examination into India also. A young Hindoo of Calcutta, who was for a

long time my travelling companion, greatly disapproved of it, saying that in their schools they were only urged on by their English teachers to get ready for examination, and that therefore they were obliged to stuff their memory with a mass of unconnected facts which were often only half understood, a process in which it was impossible to cultivate independent thought.

It is strange that Englishmen who attach so much importance to the free development of individual character do not see that this excess of examination is in direct opposition to it. Germans, too, who have settled in England soon become acclimatised in this respect; some German fathers and mothers expressed to me their satisfaction not with the excellent manner in which their children's intellects were developed, but with the many examinations which their sons and daughters had already passed, and with the prizes they had carried off.

However we also meet with men who are convinced that after all examinations are not the main thing. An English scholar, who himself had long acted as an examiner, owned that it was a great mistake to believe that the place of an efficient organisation could be supplied by examinations; he declared that, according to his own experience, this kind of examinations was by no means a guarantee for the real existence of that degree of culture which they were intended to discover; that bold and resolute natures with a good memory often gained the victory over those who went to work more calmly and with more deliberation and better judgment. "Few of our great men," said he, "who have distinguished themselves by originality of mind or by their strength and independence of character and have done good service

to the nation, had obtained honours at the universities. But unfortunately in the matter of examination we have taken China for our model."

I have no doubt that English teachers also will become more and more convinced that the present state of affairs in this respect is not a healthy one,* and that perhaps they will soon come to see which is the greater evil, to be subject to a school administration or to be the slaves of examinations outside the school, with which the quiet and successful work of the school is incompatible.

LETTER XI.

A Glance at the Working of the Schools—Plan of Instruction—National Games and Physical Exercises—The Ancient Languages and Practical Subjects (*realia*)—Instruction in Natural Science—Terence and Plautus in Schools—The Pronunciation of Latin—French and German—The English Language, History, Geography, Gymnastics.

Scarborough.

After having thus far discussed the general relations of the schools, it is time also to cast a glance at their working.

I have already mentioned their different kinds and designations. The names also of the classes in institutions

* That this conviction has been already gained by some is proved by expressions like the following: "If we go on long as we are now doing we shall utterly deteriorate the education of our youth and impair the national character."—"The mania for examinations has been pushed to its furthest limits."—"We are in danger of confounding the faculty for swallowing with the faculty for digesting."—"A system whereby the teachers of the country are converted into 'coaches' is,

of the same kind are different: class, form, division, book, school; subdivisions also have their special names, such as shell, remove, &c. In the London Bluecoat School the names of the classes are the Little and the Great Erasmus, the Grecians, and Deputy Grecians. In the Roman Catholic Institutions the old designations of the Jesuit schools reappear: poetry, rhetoric, philosophy. Such inequalities would be of little consequence if in the internal arrangements there were more agreement, so as to render it possible for a pupil to pass from one institution to another of the same category without essentially interrupting his previous course. This is the case in Germany, but in England no one institution resembles another either in its internal or external arrangements.

In Germany there are regulations respecting the age of admission and respecting the amount of knowledge requisite for it, and leaving examinations are conducted according to a uniform standard. In England an admission examination has recently been established for the endowed schools; and as there is no leaving examination, the pupils may be compelled to leave school as soon as they have attained a certain age, which is pretty generally the case in the public schools, when at the age of eighteen they are not yet in the highest form. There is no fixed number of boys allowed to attend a school or a form. It depends upon the pleasure of the governing body or the

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by its very nature, hostile to the true conception of education."—"No school which converts itself into a coaching establishment is a place of education in the proper sense of the term. There is a repose, a calm, a stability in the steady march of all sound education, which is alien to the feverish spirit that animates the antechamber of an examination room."

head-master to fix the limit of admissions to endowed schools.

Pupils are mostly promoted into higher forms either because it is thought that they have made satisfactory progress or because the progress is attested by an examination, and then, either as with us in Germany, according to their general state of knowledge, or according to special departments; in some institutions the time spent in a form is alone sufficient. In Scotland it is still customary to admit pupils without examination, and in like manner all the pupils of one form, mostly with the same master, have a rise after a fixed time. In the Edinburgh Academy, for example, every one may pass in seven years through the seven classes, while at the Edinburgh High School an attempt is at present made to promote pupils only according to their progress.

A common *plan of instruction* for the different categories of higher schools does not exist in England. While we in Germany have constructed a plan out of the idea of the school, and have gradually developed it, the English, clinging to the classical principle in their public schools, are guided in everything else by ancient custom, and any necessity that may present itself, but at present more especially by the requirements of the examinations which are conducted in schools by the universities; here, of course, the competition for scholarships, honours, prizes, &c., have likewise their effect. The English course of instruction, in comparison with former times, has been enlarged, but in the public schools it is still much more simple, and limited to a smaller number of obligatory subjects than in Germany. The so-called harmonious culture which has sometimes been considered as the

necessary product of the idea of a German gymnasium, and in which it is intended that no talent shall be left uncultivated, may demand a multiplicity of subjects which an Englishman would regard as overcrowding and confusion, rather than harmony. He does not dread the reproach of onesidedness, because it may be a sign of strength. Our late friend, the archæologist, Ed. Gerhard, when he was in the highest class of the gymnasium at Breslau, delivered a speech "On the ignorance becoming to a youth." This is quite an English theme.

The hours of instruction per week is in most institutions smaller than with us, and their succession is often interrupted by pauses or play hours. In many schools there is no instruction on Saturdays. They nowhere begin before 9 o'clock, and in day schools generally even later; with an interval for refreshment, which is usually provided in the school-house itself, the lessons usually last till three o'clock. I have heard no complaints about overburdening pupils with school work. In the lower forms it is reckoned that the pupils, on an average, devote daily one hour to preparation at home, and even in the highest forms not more than two.

In the public schools, and in many others similarly constituted, the traditional conception of the object of education does not allow learning to be the main thing. A large portion of the day is devoted to the national games and bodily exercises. In one institution I found the morning hours set apart for them, whereas some less favourable hours were given to intellectual work. The head-master justified the arrangement by pointing to the greater importance of these exercises, adding that he was satisfied if only two out of ten pupils learnt something

substantial, provided the rest were zealous at cricket and their games at ball. The effects of an invigorating physical education has always been highly valued in England. Even Roger Ascham, who taught Queen Elizabeth Greek, demands in his 'Scholemaster' in true Hellenic fashion that a well-trained mind must dwell in a well-trained body. At present many schools cannot do enough in such exercises as cricket, football, fives, racket, running, fencing and broadsword exercises, and besides athletics, swimming, and other aquatic exercises. At present military drill also has been introduced into several schools, and the pupils of the upper classes are permitted to form volunteer corps among themselves, and to take part in the public shooting matches. When several schools have formed an inter-scholastic rifle-shooting competition, a beautifully-wrought shield is always handed over to that school which has had the best marksman, and remains in its possession until the next competition. I have seen such a shield at Harrow. At Oxford and Cambridge athletic sports are carried on on a still larger and grander scale; each of them boasts of having the best jumper with the pole, or the best thrower, &c., and the rowing matches of the students have become a great national amusement. They are compared to the Olympian games of the Greeks, and the newspapers report them (as also the cricket matches, for example between Eton and Harrow) as a national affair in which all are interested. If we add to these the numerous societies among the pupils for music, for debating, reading, &c., we at once perceive that in such institutions the time for real learning must be disproportionately narrowed and limited, and that those who

find fault with the old schools are not altogether wrong in saying "the mania of muscularity has its share in the hunger-bitten poverty of the intellectual results."

In the middle-class schools established in recent times the case is different; their bill-of-fare is richer, the usual hours of instruction are more numerous; pupils are expected to work hard and to learn much. These institutions were established in accordance with the wishes of the great public in opposition to the old grammar schools, whose course of instruction was thought too narrow and antiquated, and too sterile for a scientific age, in which the natural sciences had made such progress.

In England, as well as in Germany, there has been much discussion and dispute in recent times about the two-fold character of the higher education, and as to which of the two ways (we in Germany should say that of the *Gymnasia* or of *Realschulen*) deserves to be preferred.

The predominant feeling at present is unmistakably more favourable to the modern means of education. A pretty widely-spread dissatisfaction with the results obtained in the old schools, at a time when natural science is pursued with brilliant success, and when the spirit of the nation is mainly directed to what is practically useful, has made the name of Lord Bacon, the founder of methodical realism, to many the symbol of what now should be aimed at in the higher schools.

In regard to Bacon himself, the English as well as the Germans differ in their opinions. Without agreeing with the depreciating criticism of Liebig upon him, we cannot with Macaulay deny all connection between the moral worth of a man and his scientific work. In England people gladly turn away from this whole

question, in order not to be disturbed in the intellectual enjoyment which his writings so abundantly afford. His 'Essays' are much studied even in schools; they are regarded as one of the standard books of 'English' culture; at a later period his *Augmenta Scientiarum* and his *Novum Organon* are specially studied. The fact that he always saw the Universal in the Individual, and recommended the method of induction, not only for natural science, but for all knowledge, completely corresponds with the English mode of thought. It is owing to him therefore that the study of the natural sciences has found enthusiastic eulogists, and that their neglect in most schools has been severely censured.*

However, all do not by any means go so far as to make the value of knowledge dependent on the practical advantages of its results. Most persons are in favour of due regard being paid in the higher schools to the sciences and realistic studies in general; but when both Classics and Sciences have a place in them, and a preference has to be given to one of the two, it will be found that many intelligent men will still decide in favour of the Classics. Even the School Inquiry Commission of 1864 maintained that the study of language was a better means of mental training than the sciences; that man has most to do with man, and that one of the

* To give but one example out of many: "In this *progressive* country, we neglect all that knowledge in which there is progress, to devote ourselves to those branches in which we are scarcely, if at all, superior to our ancestors. In this *practical* country, the knowledge of all that gives power over nature is left to be picked up by chance on a man's way through life. In this *religious* country the knowledge of God's works form no part of the education of the people—no part even of the accomplishments of a gentleman."

most important objects in the education of the young is to learn to understand the thoughts of others. Persons who take the same view maintain that mathematics, physics, &c., cultivate the intellect, but that the study of language and literature is a training for the mind, the heart, and the sentiments as well as for the mind, and therefore enrich the mind more deeply. Further, they say that proper instruction in language teaches boys to think; that the exercise of observing, of comparing, and drawing inductive inferences will proceed more easily and safely upon such a foundation. The other party replies that this would be all very well and good if only the result of the instruction in the ancient languages corresponded with this view; that the number of pupils who accomplish anything satisfactorily in it is extremely small, and that the way in which they are taught has become so mechanical, that the boys are not accustomed to any methodical mode of procedure or of thought. Further, that a real, visible and tangible subject—such as natural objects—would be more appropriate, that there would in this case be less scope for subjective conjectures, and the pupil would thereby early learn the force of unalterable laws; and that moreover he would thus at last get rid of books; that the phenomenon itself, the experiment, the demonstration is the main thing. The opposite party do not neglect to point to the fact that all this is too external for young persons, especially as the study of nature is as yet too little of a science, and is still in a state of perpetual change.

An agreement between such opposite views was out of the question; and thus, as always happens in such cases, a compromise was the only thing that remained, and this was

recommended, among others also, by J. Stuart Mill. The public and grammar schools have been constituted accordingly: in addition to devoting in most cases a greater number of hours to the study of history and mathematics, physics, natural history, and modern languages have been admitted into the plan of study, although they are not in all cases regarded as obligatory; frequently dispensation is granted, especially from Greek, if a pupil prefers to pay more attention "to modern subjects." In several such institutions these have to be paid for as extras.

If it be admitted that the training power of languages is greater than that of the sciences, then a further question arises as to whether it is greater in the case of the ancient or of the modern languages, and which of the two ought to be first taught in schools. It was only very rarely that I met with the idea that the English language itself, properly treated, could supply the place of, or be preferred to, the ancient languages for the development of the sense of language; in Germany it is pretty generally the opinion that a foreign language is more adapted for this purpose. Further, the mother tongue, it is said, does not stand at the requisite objective distance, and in addition to this the English language, on account of its composite character and its poverty in grammatical forms, requires to be compared with languages of a higher formal development, as is especially the case with Latin, on which account that language ought now, as formerly, to form the foundation of the study of language in the higher schools.

In opposition to this, I have heard teachers maintain that it was unnatural to introduce a boy into the ancient

languages, with their historical and religious or strange mythological circle of ideas, before he is so far advanced in his mother tongue as to be able to think and to express himself orally and in writing with accuracy. Others maintain this objection to be unfounded except in the case of a subject chosen inappropriately and of an inappropriate mode of procedure; they say that this has surely been shown by the experience of centuries; and they ask at what age that foundation in the mother tongue could be looked upon as actually attained? I have nowhere heard it recommended to begin the study of language either with French or German.

In the majority of the older higher schools the ancient languages have thus remained the basis of instruction. But for them, too, times have changed. At present classical philology in Germany takes for its object the critical and historical treatment of the authors and the comparison of languages. The reaction of this upon schools is very marked: the power of speaking and writing Latin is disappearing more and more, and the difficulty of teachers to induce their pupils to write Latin, *e.g.* in Latin essays, is becoming greater and greater. In England this is the case in a still higher degree. And as the course of instruction there has neither a definitely fixed object nor a conclusion in a final examination, the inconvenience which we have to complain of in our Gymnasia and Realschulen is still greater with them than with us, inasmuch as many pupils do not pass through the whole course, but break off arbitrarily after the first beginnings, or in the middle of the course. We may assume that on the whole no more than one-third of the pupils of a public school pass on to a university, and the number of those who

do so after having gone through the highest forms is still smaller. Nevertheless in England, as in the Gymnasia of Germany, the idea is that the real problem of such schools is to prepare pupils for the universities. A definite standpoint is thus gained, which would not be the case if they were only intended in general to afford a higher education. It is true the School Inquiry Commissioners rarely found more than a moderate knowledge of Latin, and a still smaller knowledge of Greek grammar, in the case of young people who left school at the age of sixteen, as was generally the case (average lads). They report: "He can read Cæsar easily, and Horace or Virgil with the help of a dictionary; he can also construe the easier parts of the Greek Testament." That was all. The extension of the course of instruction has caused many changes, which enables those also who do not intend to proceed to a university to attend the same schools with greater advantage than before.

Some time has been gained in most public schools for other subjects by limiting the hours given to making Latin and Greek verses. The attacks made by different parties upon the importance attached to such exercises at school (*e.g.* F. W. Farrar's 'Essay on Greek and Latin Verse-composition') have not been ineffectual, and such exercises are now recommended rather than demanded.

No one who has experience as a teacher, and thoroughly knows the difference in the grammars of the two ancient languages, is likely to support a proposal which is sometimes made, to begin the study of Greek before that of Latin, although Hellenic antiquity in many respects presents things in a manner more attractive to a child's mind. Roman literature in general is more sympathetic to

Englishmen than Greek, although individual scholars may have devoted themselves with greater zeal and with more brilliant success to the study of the Greek language. They know how to value the fact that the Latin classics have greater influence upon the formation of character, while the Greek writers are more calculated to develope the sense of the beautiful; and æsthetic culture in general is to Englishmen too vague an idea; no special attention is paid to it in their schools. The number of classics read in the public schools is much greater than in Germany. The traditional rule there comprises, among others, also the Greek Bucolics, Æschylus, Aristophanes, the Roman *triumviri amoris*, Lucretius, Terence, Plautus, and Juvenal, which we certainly exclude from our class rooms. It is true, boys and Grotius read Terence in a different way; but this distinction between a first rather superficial and a more profound understanding may hold good in the case of this author, but certainly not in the case of the others I have named; nor are they suited to be read with pupils only in a fragmentary way. In the case of most of them moral considerations also ought not to be disregarded. Public educational controversies on this subject are called forth in England almost every year on the speech days of the great public schools, when among others even scenes from Terence's 'Eunuchus' are acted. The question is whether our age should still bear this.

At a time of the most profound agitation of his soul, Luther, on proceeding to the monastery at Erfurt, took with him the comedies of Plautus, just as Bishop Chrysostom was specially fond of reading Aristophanes; Luther's friend, the Chancellor Brück, called Terence, next to the catechism, the best reading for youths; and towards

the end of the sixteenth century, Isaac Casaubon exhorted his son who attended the gymnasium at Sedan, in a letter from England, to say his daily prayers and to learn Terence by heart. It is sufficient to remind the reader of the Convent of Gandersheim to prove that Plautus and Terence were read even in nunneries. Those times still stood in a naïve relation to antiquity, in a manner similar to that with which Dante interweaves ancient mythology with the profoundly Christian character of his great poem. I do not believe that the object of these men was to reconcile Christianity with the spirit of the ancient classics, although neither Luther nor Melanchthon undervalued the moral truths of the ancients; they knew how to value the keen observations of life met with in ancient writers, although the Christian's faith contains a deeper foundation of morality. Both recommended Plautus and Terence not only, as might be supposed, on account of their language, but on account of the ethical advantage, and at the same time as a *relaxatio animi*, as they call it.

This naïveté is gone. In a biography of the poet Southey a story is told of an old lady who in a company of gentlemen inquired about a novel which in her youth she had read with pleasure. A gentleman replied that he would not take upon himself to give her the book to read. She looked at it again, and confessed that she could not comprehend how she could have read that book before without her feelings having been shocked: forty years had produced a complete change in her moral perceptions. Had the world on that account become more moral? But we have got beyond the age of naïve and harmless downrightness. Who would now undertake the responsibility of reading in class the Latin comic writers and certain

satires of Horace, even though he may credit himself with pedagogic discretion? Many in England are of the same opinion. The opposite view which declares pedagogic caution to be unnecessary in the reading of books is maintained among others by Lord Macaulay, who discusses the question in one of his Essays. The result he arrives at is in reality that the English principle, "boys and youths must take their risk," is to be applied to the domain of morality. Others of the same mind say: "Boys read such things without thinking much about them, these things do not cling to them."* Few German parents and teachers would be inclined to incur such a risk.

At present a change is taking place in the *pronunciation* of *Latin* and *Greek* in the English schools; the impulse, if I am not mistaken, proceeded from Oxford; one of the head-masters' conferences also has been occupied with the same question. The plan is no longer to pronounce the ancient languages like English, but on the whole in the same manner in which we do in Germany. This I found to be the case, *e.g.* in University College, in King's College, and in the upper forms of the Bluecoat School in London. But they pronounced the Latin *c* like *k*, hence *kikero*, *skilliket*. In Mill Hill School, where the old pronunciation is still maintained, I requested the head-master, during one of his lessons which I attended, to allow me to speak to the boys of the highest form in Latin with our German pronunciation, in order to see whether they would easily understand me. He readily gave me permission, the boys eagerly listened to my words, and immediately translated into English with accuracy every

* "Boys throw off the slack morality of Latin comedy as a waterproof does rain."

sentence I spoke. Our conversation lasted about a quarter of an hour and seemed to give much pleasure to the boys. The innovation is still attacked in many quarters. In a debating society of young people at which I was present, the question was discussed with great zeal on both sides. One of them raised the not unimportant consideration that as the English language contained so many Latin words, it would be a strange thing to pronounce the same word in a Latin author differently from the manner in which it was pronounced in ordinary life. A lively defender of the new pronunciation exclaimed with comical zeal: "Do you believe that the Romans would have conquered the world, if Cæsar's famous despatch had been pronounced as we do *Veenei, veidei, veicei*?" Milton in his work on education has said that Latin as pronounced by his countrymen was no longer Latin at all, that owing to the cold air of the north they did not sufficiently open their mouths, and that boys at school ought to be accustomed to pronounce the vowels in the same manner as the Italians. A beginning has now been made in this direction.

Hebrew is generally not a subject of instruction in English public schools, nor is a knowledge of it demanded by all the bishops in examining candidates. I found it in the curriculum of the Merchant Taylors' School in London. The head-masters' conference of 1874 spoke in favour of its being admitted into the general plan of the public schools.

The necessity of learning modern languages in early youth is generally recognised. On a speech day the chairman, among other things, said that the ancient languages and their literature were like a beautiful lake with a

smooth surface, but that the modern languages were like a river, connected indeed with the lake, but receiving tributaries from all sides and rolling along in rapid movements. We live, said he, no longer on the lake, but on the banks of this river, and allow ourselves to be borne by it, and must know how to sail upon it, if we do not wish to be cut off from intercourse with our neighbours. But it is another question whether a sufficient knowledge of modern languages can be acquired in the public schools. It is generally believed in England that this is not the case, and people are rather convinced that they can be best acquired in actual intercourse with foreign countries; hence they are rarely studied at school with real diligence, and many parents who can afford it send their sons and daughters for one or two years to France or Germany.

The *French language* is studied with far greater interest than the German; in many schools it is now an obligatory subject of instruction, which distinction *German* has acquired recently only in a very few modern schools; it is taught, however, as an optional subject in most other schools. Much may be said in support of this different estimation of the two languages, *e.g.*, that in the general intercourse of the world, and in political transactions, the French language traditionally plays a more important part than the German, and further, that it is more easy to learn it. But it cannot be denied, and modern history shows it distinctly, that on the whole Englishmen are more drawn towards France than towards Germany. A feeling for Germany based upon a common origin does not exist; the historical connection of the two nations belongs to a time long since past; and whenever stress is laid upon it, it is, with very few exceptions, done

by us in Germany. We have risen in their estimation, but our friends they are not; and several indications and expressions do not allow me to suppose (again with rare exceptions) that they accompany the recent development of Germany with their good wishes. It is only quite lately that one of the most esteemed English weekly journals declared that the Germans cannot be compared at all in mental culture with the English or the French, and that, too, on account of—the older "civilisation" of the latter!

There are not many Englishmen who rightly understand the significance of the German people in the European family of nations; a feeling of national superiority prevents them, and equally prevents their taking an interest in our history. But this has never disturbed the pleasure I felt, when I observed how much broader and deeper than the historical connection with France, the old Saxon, that is, the German foundation is not only in the political and communal life of the English, but in their language, and in many institutions of their public and private life. Several features of the country still remind us of Tacitus' 'Germania'; thus, for example, when during my wanderings through Epping forest with its wide spaces covered with broom—the historical *planta genista*—I observed the country houses scattered and isolated in the wood, just like the scattered farms in my native country of Westphalia, that is Lower Saxony, the words of Tacitus occurred to my mind: "Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit."

Among the modern languages, *English* itself is now universally studied in schools with much greater zeal than formerly, in regard to its grammar, its history, and

its style; the history of literature is not neglected either, though it consists less in making the pupils acquainted with the facts of literary history, than in making them read entire works. The subjects for essays, so far as I have seen them, appeared to me very appropriate; they rarely rose into a region difficult to be reached by young people. Even Milton cautioned teachers against such essays; he insists upon the pupils' powers being exercised in observing and distinguishing, and in the clear description of what they have observed; essays of a deeper kind should be reserved for more gifted pupils. I have actually seen such different themes given out in the same class, according to the different abilities of the pupils.

The elementary instruction in reading and writing English precedes the course of the higher schools; but still the occupation with these matters does not cease there, inasmuch as orthography—spelling—requires to be practised by most pupils even up to the highest forms; many leave school, and proceed to a university without having attained a perfect knowledge of spelling. To learn to read is much more difficult, and requires much more time in England than in Germany, because they have to commit to memory the arbitrary ways of traditional spelling. The attempt which has been made from time to time, to remove the great anomalies of English orthography, and to correct the strange customs by means of a phonetic system, has just now been renewed, and is supported by the authority of Max Müller. Yet it is to be foreseen that this time also the attempt will produce no effect. People like too much that to which they have been accustomed from their youth, and will not break with all the dear old absurdities of spelling; and moreover

people have no time to undertake changes, which, even if they were unassailable, might soon again require further correction. We cannot stand still long enough, they say, to establish a regular order; and it is sufficient that, for example, the words *right, rite, wright,* though pronounced in the same way, are different to the eye, for in our days the intercourse by means of reading and writing is much more extensive than that by hearing,* and in the context of sentences words like those mentioned are after all rightly understood. Such considerations leave the difficulties of the first instruction unsolved. This arbitrariness as to spelling, the motley mixture of words borrowed from different languages, and the grammatical poverty, have sometimes been made use of for the purpose of showing that the English language is inferior to others; but, as I think, unjustly. All these defects may be admitted, and we may yet, like Jacob Grimm, praise the peculiar excellences of the English language. Our German language has more originality; nay, in the freer and finer grammatical development, as well as in its copiousness of words, and the greater facility of forming compounds, it has a richer variety of expression for all the shades of intellectual life; it is wonderful, on the other hand, what a ready instrument the English language is for the first object, that of mutual understanding, and how beautiful and sublime it can nevertheless be in poetry. The established usage of the language always takes the shortest road to its goal, while the French scruples at no roundabout way, provided it is more pleasant. The construction of sentences is in both languages analytic; but

* "The business of the world is carried on more by reading and writing—by the eye and by the hand—than by hearing and speaking."

the English, in spite of its many short words, has greater compactness, and by its simplicity also greater force. How temperate is the application of colouring in the use of its adjectives and adverbs, and how free is it from everything superlative! It is, as already remarked, a good and solid instrument, like everything English. In order to use it rapidly, time has not even been spent upon polishing it a little; the French reminds us of the tasteful elegance of all Parisian manufactures.

These qualities of the English language are invaluable in our age, which is concerned about nothing so much as about the acceleration and facility of intercourse. The editor of a newspaper said to me, "We write in haste for people who read in haste." "You Germans," he added in a further conversation, "make it difficult for us to learn your language, not only by your complicated grammar and copious dictionary, but still more by your long-winded sentences. If the reading of Latin authors in your schools contributes to this effect, you follow to your disadvantage Cicero, while we rather follow Cæsar." I was indeed able to mention to him German authors who make no periods at all, but only put short sentences side by side; but they are no more to be taken as models than those who write complicated sentences. In point of style, we may certainly learn something from the English and the French. Through the development of our public life, we have already made some progress, but still they write more freely and with greater freshness; their sentences begin in a more natural way, are free from overcrowding, and have an easy flow, while we are more dependent upon the study of books, and write with less ease and liveliness. Among the conditions of a good

style are a fine feeling for the rhythm of a sentence, for the harmony of its parts, and the right place for its main point. To cultivate this feeling, so far as it is not done by natural habit, is one of the objects of instruction in the mother-tongue; among Englishmen it seems to me to be very widely diffused, just as much as attention to clearness and propriety in speaking and writing. After this digression I will add a few more remarks on other subjects of the course of instruction.

History and *geography* occupy a very different place in English schools from what they do in Germany. Stuart Mill declared it to be an absurdity to teach these subjects in school at all, saying that the necessary knowledge of them was best acquired by reading. This is the opinion of the majority. In schools only Greek, Roman, and English history are taught, and at examinations questions are confined to these three; in geography also, if we except that of Greece and Italy, those parts of the earth are almost exclusively studied which are of interest to the English people. Even on admission into the lower forms, where other elementary subjects are required, it is not expected that the pupil should know the form of the earth or anything else belonging to general geography, but only the outlines of the geography of England. The history of France and Germany is considered only in so far as the reading of a book, or a fact of English history renders it necessary to refer to them. This shows a voluntary, national self-restraint. To enlarge the horizon of youth into a survey of universal history is believed to be unnecessary and useless. The treatment of English history itself evidently aims at nothing beyond the facts which may possibly be the necessary consequence of the opposi-

tion of political parties. A father does not wish his son to be taught by the teacher views different from his own and those of his family; hence it is considered more safe to limit the study of history to the reading of recognised or standard books. The teaching of ancient history is always one of the functions of the classical teacher. Several public schools have begun, as has been done in Germany also, to establish museums of casts and other copies as a means of bringing ancient objects vividly before the eyes of the pupils.

A few remarks upon religious instruction must be reserved for a future letter.

Instruction in *singing* and *drawing* has during the last years become very popular, and at present there are but few public higher schools in which these subjects are neglected.

Gymnastics in the German fashion has gradually found more and more supporters, and several institutions already possess a gymnasium. The Rector of the High School of Edinburgh told me that he intended to make it obligatory during one quarter of the year for every class, and instruction in singing during two quarters. Besides the athletic sports which formerly took the place of physical exercises, we now find that in some of the public schools gymnastics also are taught; at least their introduction is much desired, especially for those older pupils who do not take part in the games and are much occupied with their books, and for the younger ones who cannot yet join in the games. For all these the *constitutional** is considered too small an amount of exercise. The

* A walk in the open air to promote digestion.

conviction moreover has gained ground that through the English games the muscles of the arms are disproportionately developed, and that young people thereby do not acquire any skill in leaping and vaulting. Those who do not take part in the game of cricket are at present provided in some schools, as, *e.g.*, at Harrow, with workshops for lessons in turning, carpentering, and planing. The consideration that gymnastic exercises are healthy will always have but little influence upon the young of both countries; the spontaneous delight in the exercises themselves must give the right impulse. It cannot be disputed that this pleasure will not be as easily excited and as permanently maintained by the German method, though it is undoubtedly more rational, as it is by the English games; we may in fact often observe how carelessly gymnastic exercises are gone through by many pupils in the upper forms of our schools. When I was a boy the teachers of gymnastics were still under the patriotic influence of the war of liberation, and that influence was transferred to us boys; and so it will always be: national custom, exciting impulses of the time, and personal example in this respect always have the best influence upon youth. Both England and Germany aim at a school education of which the exercising and strengthening of the body shall form an organic part; each has hitherto endeavoured to attain the same object, but by different means. The better they understand their respective peculiarities the sooner they will be able to learn from each other without imitating each other.

LETTER XII.

The preceding Subjects continued—Practical Schools (*Realschulen*) —School-books—Selection of special Subjects—Mode of Instruction—Results of Instruction—Holidays—Prizes and Rewards—Reports—Discipline—Pupils' Magazines—Fagging —Flogging—School-houses.

Scarborough.

My last letter was chiefly occupied with those schools resembling our gymnasia: a distinctly separate system of *Realschulen* has not yet been formed in England, but a commencement has been made. The development of the higher schools of Germany, especially in this direction, is thought an enviable one, and young Englishmen who are sent to Germany for their education attend almost without exception our *Realschulen.*

An impulse either to erect independent institutions, such as we have in our *Realschulen* and higher middle-class schools (*Höhere Bürgerschulen*), or to connect subsidiary departments (modern sides) for teaching practical subjects with the public and grammar schools, or to introduce instruction in the natural sciences into their curriculum, was given especially by the inquiries already mentioned, which had been carried on for about ten years respecting the existence and nature of the instruction in the natural sciences. The reports of the different Commissions have been drawn up with extreme care, and one reads them with increasing interest. The Royal Commission appointed in 1870 on scientific instruction and the advancement of science has examined about two hundred

schools, and other Commissions have demanded written information. The time which was found devoted to natural science in the public and grammar schools varied from one half-hour to ten hours per week. The Commissioners could but rarely be satisfied with the results of the instruction; there was no great inclination to devote more time and means to it, and the head-masters often expressed their doubts as to the educational value of this very enlargement of the course of instruction. The observation that in several modern sides already existing, the whole tone among the pupils was lower than in the classical side, might indeed act as a warning against it.* But some head-masters soon displayed great zeal in the matter, being in some instances urged on by their governing bodies which were liberal enough to grant funds for the enlargement of the school by a laboratory and suitable class rooms, as well as for the purchase of apparatus, and mineralogical and other collections. In some schools natural history was to be taught at once in the lowest forms, and a considerable number of marks was to be given to it; but the warning coming even from decided advocates of the study of natural history not to begin too early with it was after all attended to, whence it is now assigned rather to the middle and upper forms; and here we not rarely find that pupils make collections and increase them during their excursions, that they form scientific societies among themselves, and in a variety of ways show their interest in the matter. Chemistry especially is a favourite study.

* One of the Commissioners says: "My impression has been that a modern side is a modern mistake. There is an absence of that high tone which is one of the crowning glories of our English schools."

Mathematics and natural philosophy have of course an important place assigned to them in the modern sides; but as I have, I think, already remarked most teachers go beyond the proper limits by introducing subjects which, if fixed principles were followed, would be left to other institutions. I do not here allude to Latin, which is always taught in the English *Realschulen*, and is at least optional; but several schools even offer instruction in Greek, and the City of London School even in Sanscrit and Persian; in the same school those wishing to enter a class where Latin is taught, are also required, among other things, to be acquainted with the properties of air and water. Some profess to teach not only book-keeping, but fortification, civil engineering and the like, but this is not generally approved of, because, it is said, the school by such lessons in most cases only imparts a knowledge which afterwards in practical life has to be unlearned or modified. It often happens that subjects are admitted into the course of instruction, only because a prize has been founded for distinction in it.

In Scotland, middle-class schools, resembling our modern Realschulen, were established on the advice of the Reformer John Knox: on the basis of general instruction, which also included the study of Latin, they were intended to prepare youths with a due regard to what would be required of them in after life.

The prevalent modern tendency of schools aims at making young people acquainted at an early period with the riches of modern life, and bringing before them the wonders of the arts and industries of the different nations and periods, as well as things which are of historical interest. Such a combination of amusement and instruc-

tion for the great public is offered by the Crystal Palace, near London, whence educational establishments in its neighbourhood, for girls as well as for boys, promise in their advertisements to avail themselves of its opportunities for instruction. But whoever has become intimately acquainted with such enterprises and the combination of varied mercantile industry and all possible amusements with the more serious objects of education, will seriously object to extend the knowledge of the young by such means. "

I have often heard complaints about the great number and the difference of *school books*, many of which are said to be no longer suitable to the present requirements. As there does not exist any controlling power over schools, head-masters have full power of either retaining old or introducing new books. Yet the manner in which some years ago the Latin Primer was forced upon most public schools by the School Inquiry Commissioners, in spite of much opposition, is surely a case of *bureaucratic* interference, such as could not occur in the Gymnasia of Prussia. Moreover, a regard to demands made by other bodies, such as we find in the prospectus of the Edinburgh High School: "All the books prescribed in the various subjects for the medical preliminary examination are read in the course of the sixth class," does not occur in Prussia, notwithstanding our system of giving privileges to such as have gone through a certain course of instruction.*

* These privileges remind me of another remark made in the same prospectus: "The school is recognised by government as one in which gentlemen may be prepared for civil engineer appointments under government in India and the Colonies."

The fixed order of the system of classes in the higher schools of Germany is unknown in England, and it is only now and then that we meet with an arrangement approaching it. The system *according to subjects* is almost universal in England, and thus the school as a whole is much more free and more loose than with us. In some institutions I found a continual change in the classes; the pupils and their numbers were different from hour to hour. This system also renders it necessary to change the class-rooms for the different subjects of instruction. With us the teacher always goes to the assembled pupils, whereas in English schools I often found that every teacher had a separate class-room, in which the pupils had to assemble. The duration of lessons also differs, and the same bell does not give the signal for the beginning or the end of all lessons: some last more than an hour, others only one-half or three-quarters of an hour. In many schools, *e.g.* in University College School, London, pupils may select their subjects as in a restaurant where you dine *à la carte:* whoever does not wish one subject takes another in its place, in order to complete a certain quantity prescribed. Of 382 pupils in the High School of Edinburgh during last year, 320 learned Latin, 85 Greek, 147 Mathematics, 308 French, and 298 Natural Science.

Besides this much freedom is everywhere given to boys of the upper forms to occupy themselves according to their inclination. The Grammar School of Manchester may serve as an example of the variety of subjects that may be chosen: in its modern side during the present year it had to hold examinations, among other things, in geology, metallurgy, nautical astronomy, animal phy-

siology, organic chemistry, applied mechanics, and building construction. In the reports about Dulwich College, after specifying certain special studies, it is stated that in the highest form the selection of subjects is still more free: "In this form the choice of special subjects of study is less restricted than in the lower forms, while the opportunity is given to all boys, according to their several tastes or intended pursuits, of devoting a larger proportion of their time either to classical studies on the one hand, or to mathematics and science on the other."

The great object is to promote private study, and it is thought that in reality only the ancient languages and mathematics are suitable for school instruction; it is feared to overburden the young mind by much teaching, and to deprive it of its elasticity and of the pleasure of directing its strength towards self-chosen subjects. Hence teachers approve of pupils choosing particular books for their study, and of their occupying themselves with them more or less exclusively, until they are perfectly at home in them. I was told that Lord Macaulay's father on consulting Lord Brougham about the education of his son, received the answer that he ought to recommend him to study diligently Demosthenes and Dante, which was actually done. It is not difficult in Macaulay's writings to discover the effect of his long study of the Greek orator, but it is not easy to see the results of his occupation with the great Italian poet.

A fundamental difference between the learning at school in England and in Germany, a difference which may be traced in many directions, is the fact that there everything is more isolated, and that less importance is attached to the connecting of subjects than is the case with

us, as is clear from the arrangement of our plans of study as well as from the treatment of the several subjects. What teachers in England aim at especially is, that the pupils shall acquire a very limited but accurate amount of knowledge; but it appears to me that they do not sufficiently prevent the undue isolation of subjects, and take up many things for which the indispensable preparation is wanting. Hence boys read authors without having that knowledge of grammar, which, according to our view, is absolutely necessary: of this the examination questions contain very striking examples. I found that Euripides was put into the hands of boys after they had learned Greek for only one year; and in another school I saw that pupils still engaged with the rudiments of Latin grammar were already reading Virgil's Eclogues, and similar things I found elsewhere. With us Sophocles' Electra would not be read in a class that has not yet got beyond Xenophon's Anabasis.* It often happens that strangers who offer themselves, or are invited, deliver lectures on historical, geographical, or scientific subjects in schools, whereas we consider the advantages of such lectures to be very doubtful, if the elementary knowledge necessary for understanding them is wanting.

According to all this it may be presumed that the *method of instruction* in English schools is essentially different from our own. I have become acquainted with some teachers who thoroughly understood the art of making their pupils correctly apprehend the subject of the lesson; but in general the attendance at an English lesson affords little opportunity for discovering that

* Some further details on courses of instruction are given in Appendix No. V.

teaching is an art; the hour is for the most part devoted to hearing the lesson said by heart; the learning a lesson and writing exercises take place under different superintendents, and rather out of lesson hours than in them. In the modern middle-class schools the procedure is more like our own, and the hour is devoted to varied oral instruction and examination, and not merely to hearing lessons said by heart. Nowhere do we find as much done in writing as with us. In translating an author they usually employ an appropriate method: boys in the lower forms are made to translate word for word, and are gradually allowed more freedom until in the upper forms the thoughts are freely rendered; a model translation by the teacher himself is often given, as is also the case in German gymnasia.

English teachers themselves have expressed to me their regret that with them the usual proceeding is too much of a routine, and has too little vivifying power, that lessons are almost exclusively learned by memory, and that the examinations outside the school are greatly to be blamed for this. During several lessons which I attended I was struck with the indolent manner of the pupils; in the playground they were full of life and cheerfulness, while in class they sat there without interest and wearied, and the answers were given in such a low voice, and so indistinctly, that I was often unable to understand them. The teacher took no notice of this, and sometimes he himself did not speak clearly and distinctly, and immediately helped the boys where they hesitated. They are not accustomed to watch themselves in such matters in the manner in which a schoolmaster in Prussia is expected to do. In explaining the classical authors in the upper

forms, the questions always referred to grammatical, historical, and geographical details, things which can be briefly asked and answered, but much less attention was paid to the connection of ideas. We read the ancient authors more for the purpose of introducing the young to a knowledge of antiquity in general, and while we direct the attention of the pupils more to the internal connection of what is read, we also make them acquainted with the position occupied by the author in his time, and in the literature of his nation. In English schools, moreover, it is less customary than with us, thoroughly to discuss any difficulty as a common exercise in methodical work. I was astonished to find that in reading Horace, the pupils scarcely knew the name of Bentley; but this is explained by what I have said before. I may here mention an occurrence as an illustration. I happened to have taken my place in a railway carriage by the side of a young man whom I took to be a pupil. He was reading a novel of Sir Walter Scott; we got into a conversation, and I asked him whether at school he also read Homer, to which he replied, "To be sure." In the course of our conversation I asked him whether he could mention anything that was common to an epic poem and the novel of Sir Walter Scott which he was reading. He soon came to mention the descriptions, and as I inquired after their difference in Homer and Scott, he after some preliminary remarks hit upon the correct answer, saying that the former described the things as they were growing, the latter things as they were ready and completed. He looked at me with a feeling of satisfaction, as if he had made some new discovery. When I asked him whether attention was not directed to such things at school, he

replied. "No, we must construe, translate, and commit to memory."

But I may have been unfortunate in my observations, and I have no doubt that in England, as with us, people have a higher idea of what instruction should be in the highest forms,* and that in England, too, there are not wanting teachers who know the pleasure which arises from the living intellectual intercourse with the young, and which animates the teacher and his pupils when at his bidding the spirit of the author buried in the book is recalled to life, and comes in contact with the susceptible mind of the pupil. Such an animating stimulus we value more highly than an amount of knowledge of things and language; we want both, but not the one without the other.

A lesson which becomes an elevating and intellectual communion of the teacher with his pupils, is an impossibility when the former is obliged constantly to keep his attention fixed upon externals; and I have reason to suppose that such is still the case in many English schools. Imagine a highest form as I have witnessed it, in which Thucydides or Tacitus is read; the master has the author before him, together with a list of the pupils. His questions are put according to the order in which the pupils sit, and for every answer he adds a number to the name of the pupil who has answered: it is the number of marks which the answer merits! This process was

* I have often heard teachers themselves expressing their dissatisfaction with the customary mechanical proceeding, which cannot be called method at all: "We condemn the practice of making the classical authors mere text-books for the acquisition of words, by which all sense of the beauty of their works is lost in the mechanical drudgery of making sense out of the words."

repeated several times during the same hour, and after it the pupils crowded round the desk to learn the number of marks they had gained, and each one then entered the number in a book for himself. At the end of a week, the marks are summed up to be afterwards considered when prizes are distributed. Such a proceeding, even in the highest forms, has at least the advantage that it prevents the teacher from occupying himself only with a few pupils, and that he is obliged to engage the attention of all. But the teachers who know and wish for what is better are in a disagreeable position, when they consider on the one hand the requirements at examinations, and on the other hand the desire for prizes and other marks of distinction.

Respecting the success of instruction and its results in the higher English schools in general, I do not presume to have an opinion. The head-masters themselves are not particularly satisfied with them, nor were the School Inquiry Commissioners. The universities complain of the defective preparation of their students, and in like manner the public and grammar schools complain that they receive their pupils from the lower and especially from the private schools without sufficient elementary preparation. Praiseworthy exceptions are of course not wanting. But what I myself have observed and must regard as one of the most striking differences from our German school training is, again, the isolation of the different kinds of knowledge possessed by English pupils. A boy may be able to translate Horace and Tacitus, and yet be occupied with the first elements in Greek; again, one may have made good progress in the ancient languages, as ought to be expected in the highest forms,

while in history and geography he may show an igorance such as we should consider to be disgraceful to his age. We in Germany lay more stress upon a progressive development of the pupil's general culture. The desire to acquire the utmost amount of detailed knowledge of facts has evidently been fostered in England by the system of examinations. The instruction in English and in arithmetic seems to me on the whole to be the most satisfactory. The art of making Latin and Greek verses is not yet extinct in the public schools. I have read with great pleasure in the reports of some of them Latin Elegiacs and attempts at translations of passages from Shakspeare into Greek. The weakest point in my opinion everywhere was Latin prose.

If you inquire for the reasons why on the whole the results of instruction are not satisfactory, I must again refer you to the system of examinations. The effect of the long summer vacation also is not inconsiderable; it generally lasts two months, during which so much is forgotten that the teachers with many pupils have to perform a labour like that of the Danaides. All the vacations together in the higher schools amount to about fifteen weeks annually; in some private institutions and in the middle-class schools they do not last so long. In some schools work is given out to be done during the holidays. It moreover appears to me as if even in those schools where excellent instruction is given, the pupils were not sufficiently encouraged to avail themselves of it; it is according to our notions left too much to themselves as to whether they desire to learn anything or not. If they do learn, it is generally not because this freedom has created a love of learning, though in some instances

this is certainly the case; but the real motive is much more frequently either anxiety about the coming examination or the hope of reward.

This leads me to speak of prizes. Of all the contrasts which the English mode of thinking and acting shows, none has appeared to me so striking and contradictory as the fact that a nation which has so great and sacred an idea of duty makes no use of that idea in the school education of the young; it has rather allowed it to become the custom, and it is an evil custom, to regard the prospect of reward and honour as the chief impulse to industry and exertion. Nelson's words to his men before the battle of Trafalgar are well known, and whoever resides in England has plenty of opportunities of observing in the family life and elsewhere in the actions of men the effects of a wide-spread and deep sense of duty; every child that learns the English catechism carries from it into life the command everywhere to do its duty.* In Germany Kant, who by his ancestors was connected with Scotland, and whose whole intellectual tendency points back to David Hume, has, during a period of national languor, awakened a sense of duty among the educated classes and thence extended to the masses of the people, which will ever remain the glory of the practical side of his philosophy. But I may say in general that a sense of duty is implanted in the German as in the English mind; and the action of our schools also can bear witness to it, though they must be more concerned about stirring up the higher motive, the love of learning. Other and external motives, it must be admitted, also have their

* In the explanation of the commandments we read: "to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me."

effect, *e.g.*, those which originate in our system of g[redacted] privileges. Even he who is not so rigorous as to condemn in schools every appeal to ambition, will not be able to approve of the manner in which it is fostered in English schools. At all stages of instruction, from the university to the elementary school, rewards and prizes are in England among the chief incentives to industry; even in Sunday Schools, which are sometimes held in churches, incredible as it may seem, this means is thought indispensable. Prizes and medals are given not only for good progress in learning but also for good conduct. As the custom is universal, no doubts about it ever arise: it has always been so. The Monthyon prize in France, given as a public reward for the most virtuous act, is justly considered in England as something eminently characteristic of the French; but in the system of giving prizes in schools there is no difference between the English and the French. If any one wishes to benefit an institution, the first thing always is to found prizes and scholarships, which in this way have enormously increased in some schools. If any one wished to establish a new school without at the same time holding out a prospect of attractive rewards, he would meet with little support, and in the old schools prizes, medals, &c., are among the most effective recommendations. In the printed reports of some institutions the money value of the prize books also is stated. Add to this the fact that the names of those who have gained prizes are published. It is a great evil, and often noticed by parents whose sons do not gain distinctions, that the teachers in order to win great honours for their institution through individual pupils often occupy themselves principally with those who are

[redacted]o gain prizes. Even the College of Preceptors [redacted]rs prizes, although it is in no way connected with schools, but it employs this means in order to entice schools and scholars to submit to its examinations.

About the end of July of the present year, when after the closing of the schools many pupils went home for the holidays, I heard a father greet his son at the railway station with the question: "How many prizes?" And when the boy said "Three," the father's countenance seemed to ask, "No more?" In Scotland I heard a mother on a similar occasion say: "What place in the class?" With us in Germany the question would be: "Have you been promoted?" or "Have you a good report?" Girls too are drawn into the same competition for honours, and are made to appear at the public distribution of prizes. I have been present on an occasion when at a large assembly girls of the age of fifteen or sixteen hastened up to the platform among boys publicly to receive prizes amid general applause. Even wealthy parents, for the sake of the honour, attach much importance to their sons gaining at competitions scholarships which were originally destined for poor pupils. A gentleman in the very best position told me with great pleasure of having just received the news that his son, who in consequence of a successful competitive examination was in the enjoyment of a scholarship at school, had now on entering the highest form, in another competition, gained a university scholarship; but that on account of his youth he was to remain another year at school, and had now received the promise that the amount of the scholarship for that year would be paid to him as soon as he entered the university, so that during the first year at the university he would be in the

enjoyment of two scholarships. You may hear Englishmen say: "You must pay people if they are to learn anything, otherwise it will not do," and their argument, the logic of which looks like cynicism, is, "Do you suppose that barristers occupy themselves with law, or the physician with medicine, from a love of the thing? No! they want to earn money. Why should we demand greater disinterestedness from young men?"

We are also much struck with the great number of prizes. On a Speech-day (in St. Paul's School, London, it is called Apposition Day) there is always in public schools a brilliant assembly of ladies and gentlemen. A German accustomed to the quiet proceedings on such occasions must in England arm himself with patience to bear the repeated and protracted clapping of hands and stamping of feet which accompany the entrance of particular persons, the calling out of the names of teachers, of benefactors, of pupils that are to receive prizes, and the distribution itself. In a theological seminary the proceedings are equally noisy, and in this respect it does not differ from schools for young boys. At the distribution of prizes consisting of books, medals, &c., which is always undertaken by some person of distinction, it often happens that the same pupil receives prizes for different subjects, so that sometimes he is unable without help to carry away the mass of books presented to him. How modest, how secondary, and how devoid of any influence upon the whole action of the school do the proceedings appear which take place in some of our schools when prizes are distributed!

In some English private schools the thing becomes a real caricature. Parents themselves have told me laugh-

ingly that their son had already so-and-so many marks, *e.g.*, two hundred, for having arrived punctually after the holidays, and that last week he had obtained one hundred because he had appeared every morning with his hair neatly brushed, his shoes properly tied, &c. These marks are afterwards summed up, and for a fixed number of marks a prize is given. In one school the two hundred marks for punctuality in arriving after the holidays are given to those also who did not indeed arrive, but intended to do so and were prevented only by illness attested by a physician. In another school a whole holiday is given every month to those who at roll-call in the morning have not been absent more than six times in the month.*

The public exhibitions in schools are always accompanied by the danger of sacrificing truth for the sake of making a good appearance. I do not mean only, that prizes are often given to pupils who are well known to the teachers to have but slight claims to them (as when pupils of German or French origin are rewarded for their performances in German or French), but also the self laudation of the schools themselves. I remember the following occurrence in a middle-class school: the hall was densely crowded with an interested assemblage; when the chairman appeared and had been received with great applause, one of the gentlemen on the platform directed the attention of the assembly to the great honour which the chairman conferred upon the school by coming among them to dis-

* It makes a strange impression upon us when, in the printed lists of the pupils at Eton, we always find it noticed in the case of boys of the two highest forms, how often they have been "*sent up for* good or *for* play," the meaning of which is that they have received half-a-holiday in the week on account of some good exercises.

tribute the prizes, and added that the fact of such a man undertaking the duty was the best proof of the excellence of the school and its distinguished merits. This was followed by a general clapping of hands, especially on the part of the pupils. After the distribution of the prizes another gentleman, in accordance with the formal English custom, proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, and this being immediately seconded, the head-master of the institution expressed his gratitude, and at the same time mentioned the distinctions gained by the pupils who had already left the school. What else could the chairman do but reply by praising the school? One of the teachers who was well acquainted with German schools and to whom I openly expressed my astonishment at so much self-glorification of the school, which on account of its large numbers alone was difficult to be kept in good order, answered: "Well, I too am opposed to it. You do not want such things in Germany; we cannot do without them on account of the public."

Regular *reports* sent to inform parents of the progress and conduct of their children are now much more general than they used to be; in most cases monthly reports are sent about the conduct and diligence of the pupils, and at the end of every term about their progress and the results of the examination. In private schools this is not customary; the principal of one said to me, "If the parents wish to know how their sons are doing, they can ask me; if I were to send reports to all, which might often be unfavourable, many parents would be vexed, become dissatisfied with the school, and withdraw their sons; I would rather not expose myself to this.

The *discipline* of English schools may be judged from

very different points of view; it is not as strict as ours, either within or without the schoolhouse. It is not demanded that noise and talk should cease when the master enters the class room; it is not his presence that is intended to induce the pupils to be quiet, but the idea that the work is now to begin. But even then they are allowed to act rather according to their own discretion; with us the lesson as such is more generally respected; it proceeds in a quiet regular course, and must not be disturbed. But this is impossible, where, as is still often the case in England, several classes are instructed simultaneously in the same room, or where some classes are under instruction while others carry on their noisy games under its windows. In one school with which I became acquainted the pupils behaved with great nonchalance even during lessons—perhaps the boarding arrangements somewhat resembled those of a family. There was a perpetual coming and going: one boy went out to fetch something; another was called out because a relation had come to see him, &c.; nor was anyone except myself struck by the fact that during the lessons a basketful of letters which had just arrived were brought to the master for distribution among the pupils, or that in another class in the middle of the lesson a servant brought in bread-and-butter, which the boys were to eat afterwards.

English school discipline in general acts, in its way, excellently, as is proved by the conduct of most young men in public life. The mischief produced on many boys and youths in Germany by excessive beer drinking is unknown in England; in like manner it is rare to find that schoolboys indulge in smoking, which is forbidden.

Even students abstain from smoking at their free meetings for discussion and in their common reading rooms; whoever likes may go to the smoking room. I may mention here by the way, that I never saw either in England or Scotland boys wearing spectacles, while with us boys in the middle forms may be seen with *pince-nez*.

In every school we may distinguish between that which is done by the superior and governing spirit of the head-master and teachers, and that which, more or less independently of them, is developed and propagated in the school as its own natural life, the traditions of the school-life in which the pupils educate one another. In institutions limited as to numbers this latter element must act more powerfully than in the other schools, and the great English boarding schools have more of it than the German, because in the former the pupils are on principle left more to themselves. Of this, however, we may perceive not only the good results, but also an injurious abuse of freedom. Youths are expected to acquire early a feeling of independence and responsibility, and even boys are treated according to this principle, which among other things has a very good effect upon their love of truth. I have no doubt but that English boys also occasionally take refuge in a lie, but I do not think I am mistaken in supposing that the majority consider it to be unworthy to tell an untruth from cowardice. Many teachers, convinced that mistrust demoralises, endeavour to preserve and strengthen the love of truth by assuming truthfulness in their pupils, and by believing their statements without hesitation.

People in England do not attach much importance to an education that watches the pupil at every step he

takes; the tutors also are not accustomed to trouble themselves about the inner life of those intrusted to them. Thomas Arnold indeed, like Locke, had a high opinion of the office of a teacher, and considered it to be, like the clerical office, a cure of souls, but even he did not prominently display it. When Englishmen read that German teachers try to exercise an influence upon the inclinations, the sentiments, and the imagination of the pupils, they sometimes call this "meddlesomeness," and are of opinion that all this is in fact only a "benevolent paternal despotism," which disturbs the free development of boys and youths. You must not damp the ardour of the young they say, for who can know whether the boy is not destined to open new paths for his nation, and we need not wonder if such a boy, even at an early period, struggles against customary laws. Every one must be allowed to experience and to bear the consequences of his own imprudence, folly, and idleness; this, they say, is the best and most impressive instruction. In the same sense a father declared to me: "My principle is to allow my son absolutely to do what he pleases and as he pleases. If he does not want to learn to-day, never mind, he will perhaps do it to-morrow all the more diligently. I interfere only when he gets into bad ways, and then I stop him." We consider such conduct towards the young as cruel and unwise, especially because the consequences of tolerated perversities often show themselves only at a much later period, and also because even at school the bad example may do much mischief.

Many things forbidden by the disciplinary rules of our schools are allowed in England. Some weeks ago, when I arrived in a town which possesses a public school, the

morning lessons had just ended, and I saw crowds of boys hurrying into a neighbouring confectioner's shop. Pupils, whose parents live at a distance, and who do not wish to avail themselves of the opportunity frequently offered of dining in the school-house, may take their dinner in any public place they choose. In like manner they are permitted to visit places of all kinds of public amusements and meetings, even the courts of law. The Westminster boys may attend discussions in Parliament. There is no supervision or limit as to what they may read. They are in every way encouraged to make themselves acquainted at an early period with the works of Shakespeare. In one of the higher middle-class schools I saw Shakespeare's works given as a prize to boys of twelve and thirteen years. In such cases the national interest in the poet outweighs educational considerations. The reading of the daily papers stimulates the young to occupy themselves very early with political and other questions of public life. In one great boarding school the boys took no less than twelve different newspapers. On speech days they recite, among other things, speeches of celebrated statesmen—*e.g.* that of Lord Brougham on Parliamentary reform, and similar subjects are discussed in their debating societies. Other questions which I found discussed in such a society are, *e.g.*, cremation; capital punishment; whether more rights ought to be granted to women; whether a statue ought to be erected to Byron; whether compulsory school attendance ought to be introduced, &c. Most of the higher schools have such societies, where pupils exercise themselves in extempore speaking; and they are looked upon with favour, in order that the boys may early overcome the natural timidity in

speaking before large assemblies, and in order that they may acquire, even in their early years, some readiness in the use of the armour of words. Not a few members of Parliament gratefully remember these preparatory exercises at school and in the university.

Most of the great schools, moreover, publish their own periodicals. I have seen many such *school magazines.** Their contents afford no reason for such considerations as would render it necessary in Germany, either to forbid or limit similar undertakings. They contain articles almost exclusively on subjects connected with the school; communications about special occurrences in it, or connected with its earlier history, on the lives of former pupils, letters of former pupils from a distance; among the latter I found, *e.g.*, letters on the progress of the missions to the heathen in Asia and Africa; obituaries in the manner of the *Ecce* which is customary at Sculpforte, and now also at Ilfeld; descriptions of holiday excursions; reports of competitive games played with other schools; on the progress of natural history and other collections, poetical essays and the like. Their imitation of the life of adults in clubs and other societies, and their observing the forms of public meetings, cannot but appear to us as signs of a certain precocity; the same impression is made on us by occasional reports on the internal condition of the school, or on the result of examinations, by moralising exhortations, and the like.

However, the great freedom allowed to school-boys no

* *E.g.* The Etonian, Carthusian, Alleynian, Mill Hill Magazine, The Blue, The Ulula, The Wellingtonian, The Wykehamist, The Elizabethan, The Blackheathan, Bloxhamist, Felstedian, Camden School Record, Clifton School Magazine.

longer meets with general approval; I have heard persons express their displeasure at the fact that public schools, in regard to the independence in their formation of character, anticipate many things which belong to the universities, and that, on the other hand, they leave much to the universities which ought to have been done at school. Parents of this opinion therefore often prefer entrusting their sons to private institutions, whose prospectuses promise a strict surveillance. The newly established Catholic institutions likewise maintain a strict discipline among their pupils; even the students of Kensington University are not allowed to go to concerts, theatres, balls, and the like.

To exercise such a control over young men can have no good effects, and one is astonished to meet with it in England. The educational unsuitableness of the opposite system, followed in the public schools, seems to have been felt in recent times. If the system of *laisser faire* is dangerous in the case of individuals, how much more so in large institutions. And yet in former times no one thought of interfering, and the evil was allowed to grow. It cannot be supposed that, *e.g.*, Dr. Farrar (in May of the present year, I still saw him as head-master of Marlborough College, he is now Canon of Westminster), in his school novel 'Eric,' intended to represent anything else than the real truth. The more one reads that book the more painful it becomes to observe how moral corruption may spread, as if there existed no eye, no heart, and no hand to stop it. Even 'Tom Brown's School Days' is after all, partially a picture of the wild side of school life, and the book written, like 'Eric,' in a most attractive style is read by many with very mixed feelings.

It is believed that it is owing to the *monitorial system*, which has been introduced in several schools, that in many respects matters have been improved. A definite number of the younger boys is entrusted to the superintendence of the senior boys, a practice which has been customary for a long time in our great boarding schools. It is the system of pupil teachers applied to education; the senior boys also give private instructions to the younger ones, for which they receive a special fee; they have, moreover, the right of inflicting penalties, and even corporal punishment, which is said to have been found useful, and not to have been abused. The monitorial system moreover is said to have greatly softened down the system of fagging. In this respect it is highly valued as a personal relation promoting the development of character; to learn to obey in a community, it is said, is the first step towards independence and towards the guidance of others.

The system of *flogging*, like fagging, still exists in the higher public schools. At school every one is a boy, at the university he is a man; and although the pupil is in many ways already treated as a man, nothing is a greater proof of his still being a boy than the fact that he is still liable to be flogged. Public opinion has on various occasions expressed itself against corporal punishment, as degrading and brutalising, but the boys themselves do not look upon it in that light. It occasionally happens that a boy begs for a number of stripes, instead of writing an imposition. Caning and birching, however, have become less common; and in most public and grammar schools where they still exist, they are resorted to only in the case of serious moral offences, unless the parents

when informed of it prefer to withdraw the boy. The punishment is always inflicted by the head-master himself; and in order, to guard himself against a feeling of passion, it is done in the presence of one or more of the older pupils, but not before the whole class, in order to spare the feelings of the culprit. In the advertisements of some schools it is mentioned that there is no corporal punishment.* They think that pupils deserving such punishment ought to be removed at once, but that otherwise the objects of discipline can be attained by keeping in the boys, by entering their names in a black book, and by the reports sent to their parents.

For a long time little attention was paid in England to the proper arrangement and furniture of the class rooms in school-houses. During the last three years more care has been bestowed on these matters. Simultaneous instruction of several classes in the same room is now generally limited to those cases where one of the two classes has only a silent lesson, that is, in writing or drawing; but even at Eton there does not exist a special room for each class. The work of Mr. E. R. Robson, member of the London School Board, entitled *School Architecture* (1874), is excellently adapted to give us an idea of the present efforts to reform school-houses. On the whole elementary schools, owing to the numerous new school-houses, are now much better cared for than

* *E.g.*, "discipline is maintained without corporal punishment or impositions." At Winchester we still see the inscription:

"Aut disce, aut discede; manet sors tertia: cædi."

Above this inscription there is a mitre and crosier as a reward for the first; an inkstand and a sword for the second; and a birch rod as a symbol of the third.

the higher schools, where we still meet with insufficient and badly arranged class rooms, some without proper light, others without ventilation, and others again with seats without backs; these and other defects are met with more frequently than might have been expected in England. In contrast with this old state of affairs, which is not entirely removed even in celebrated schools, the school buildings erected in late years make the most pleasing impression, whether we consider the entire structure or its details. I have observed this with satisfaction, *e.g.* in Wellington College, Dulwich College, Fettes College, and in the present Charterhouse. In these institutions, each of which consists of a large complex of buildings, everything that contributes to health, cleanliness, and order, is provided in an exemplary manner. The planning of the buildings has not been left to architects alone; the respective head-masters were consulted in making the plans, having previously been commissioned to travel about in the country in order to inspect other institutions, and then to make their proposals. The Educational Collection, which forms a separate department in the Kensington Museum, is very instructive in regard to the furnishing of school-rooms with everything requisite.

LETTER XIII.

Religion in Schools—Biblical Knowledge—Ecclesiastical Character of Schools—The keeping of Sunday.

Scarborough.

RELIGION IN SCHOOL requires a separate letter. Religious instruction, such as it appears in the plan of instruction in the higher schools of Germany and co-ordinate with Latin, Greek, and other lessons, and systematically distributed over all the classes, is imparted in few English institutions. But without much being said about it, it is still regarded very extensively as a matter of course, that religion is one of the means of education, and also that a public school should have a Christian character. Most people, more or less consciously, consider the problem of school instruction to be threefold: first, that it should impart positive knowledge; secondly, that it should awaken and develop the mental powers and the ability to form an independent judgment; and lastly, that it should lead the soul beyond what is visible and temporal to what is eternal. This is generally the tacit understanding; and when a child is entrusted to a school, it is presumed that this principle will be acted upon in the daily reading of the Bible and saying prayers in common, a practice to which the child has been accustomed in the family at home. In our day, it is true, we meet in England also with theorists who would like to secularise the school on account of the existing religious and ecclesiastical differences among

the people. If you tell them that a school without religion would be opposed to the English mind, they perhaps reply that this does not point to a reason, but only to a feeling; as if this *opposition* had not its very deep reasons in the human soul, and in the idea of education.

In recent times, however, several schools have been established, which do not, like the public schools, make education their principal object, but in reality only the first of the above mentioned three, leaving the duty of the religious training of the pupils entirely to their parents. I have spoken of this before (p. 64, &c.). Some of the new middle-class schools also, such as the great Cowper Street School in London, had formed the plan of excluding religion, in order to escape from the difficulty above alluded to. But as the public showed less indifference in this matter than had been expected, that school has now admitted biblical knowledge, at least as an optional subject, into its plan of instruction; and when lately a benefactor of the institution offered to establish a Scripture prize, it was gratefully accepted.

The middle classes, always more attached to the low than to the high church party, have to a large extent abandoned the English Episcopal Church, and are dispersed among the numerous religious denominations. As the government has been repeatedly petitioned to take under its care and give grants of money to satisfy a generally felt want of special schools for the middle classes, it could not leave this matter unattended to. The question was not one of denominational schools, but of institutions, in which, as in the public and grammar schools, the foundation was to be laid of a general

and liberal culture: such an institution, however, it was said, was inconceivable without the religious element, and this being required, the government was faced by an insurmountable obstacle; what arrangements could it make to render these schools acceptable to the many and very different ecclesiastical claims of the middle classes? and how could Parliament be asked to grant, out of the general funds, a subvention for schools, for the support of which all, without distinction of creed, would have to contribute, and of which the Jews, the Roman Catholics, and all the other sects, for the sake of conscience, would not be willing to avail themselves? Hence middle-class schools have been left, for this and other reasons, to their own free development. I shall hereafter show how the government has dealt with the same difficulty in the case of the elementary schools.

Parents, as I have already said, generally demand nothing else, than that the school should follow the religious habit, which still largely pervades the life of the English nation. Hence it is an almost universal custom in the public institutions for instruction and education, nearly all of which have their own chapels, to have morning and evening service, commonly consisting in singing of hymns, the reading of a portion of the Scriptures, and prayers. In the public schools, even the day boys who do not live in the institution must take part in these exercises, and have for the most part also to attend divine service in the school chapel every Sunday. The same practice is continued in the universities. At Oxford and Cambridge it is still the rule in most colleges for students daily to attend divine service. At Edinburgh, according to ancient custom, some professors,

down to the most recent times, began their lectures or their instruction every day with a prayer, mostly with the Lord's Prayer. The eminent Scotch philosopher, Sir W. Hamilton (he died 1856), concluded his lectures each time with the words: "God bless you all!" It is a matter of importance in the religious education of English youths, that in the majority of the national classics with whom they are made acquainted at an early period in their course of instruction, they meet with a religious tone, as, *e.g.*, in Milton, Shakspeare, Addison, and many others.

All this explains why the cultivation of a religious feeling is expected as a matter of course from the public schools. But it does not follow that systematic instruction in religion is demanded on that account. The reading of the Scriptures remains the main thing; those who belong to the English Church connect with it the Catechism, and in general a knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer. (In Scotland it is the Shorter Catechism.) In the upper forms of several schools some apologetic works, such as Paley's 'Evidences,' and 'Horae Paulinae,' and Butler's 'Analogy,' must also be studied; in one institution, I found a prize offered for the study of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' Schools do not consider it their duty to give special dogmatic instruction, which would embrace Christian ethics, and cases occur of parents expressly deprecating such instruction: they do not wish their children to imbibe the private views of a teacher, or to have them instructed in a manner which might estrange them from the firm scriptural foundation, and from the established ecclesiastical rules. In the prospectus of one institution,

I find that besides religious instruction, "the laws of morality are inculcated on all suitable occasions in the course of the ordinary lessons; and as soon as the minds of the pupils are sufficiently prepared, ethics are taught systematically in their social application." This instruction is termed moral science, which commonly comprises "logic, mental and moral philosophy," and does not include history as it does in France, as opposed to the exact sciences.

A thorough biblical exegesis is generally considered unnecessary in religious instruction. The New Testament is read early in the original language, and its explanation is mainly grammatical, as that of any other Greek author; as to the rest, the intention is that the frequent and extensive reading and hearing of the Bible shall make it known so well to every one as to explain itself. Religious instruction, that is explanation of the Bible, is reserved in some schools for Sundays; on week days the Bible is only read. In Oxford and Cambridge, also, a knowledge of the Scriptures and of such books as I have mentioned before, is one of the subjects of examination during the first two years.

The fact that most public schools do not lay any great stress on sectarian differences in religion, and almost entirely confine their religious instruction to a knowledge of the Bible, explains the phenomenon of many parents who do not belong to the English Church unhesitatingly allowing their sons to take part in the religious instruction, where it is given according to the ecclesiastical rules of such institutions. At present pupils are permitted in almost all schools to dispense with religious instruction, but on the whole little use is made of this permission,

and generally only where the head-master is a clergyman. The reports of the School Inquiry Commissioners contain very many instances of the peaceful associating together of pupils belonging to the most different denominations. The Wesleyans and others generally allow their children also to learn the Catechism of the English Church; in several schools the Commissioners found even Roman Catholic and Jewish pupils taking part in the reading of the Scriptures, and in singing the hymns of the English Church.*

The knowledge of the Old and New Testament demanded by the printed examination questions refers to persons and things, history, geography, and the meaning of words, and is more extensive and detailed than is demanded with us, either in schools or of candidates examined for holy orders.† Surely much of the knowledge of

* Let me give at least one example. Mr. J. Bryce, in his report of the town of Preston, remarks that few of the Roman Catholic and Jewish pupils of the grammar school there withdraw themselves from the Bible lesson. And then continues: "The head-master, a clergyman of the Church of England, gives such comments as he thinks calculated to explain the meaning without treading on controversial ground. One of the under-masters is a Roman Catholic, and about half the boys are, as I was informed, Nonconformists. Recently, a prize given for religious knowledge was carried off by a Roman Catholic boy, and a school scholarship was gained by the son of a Dissenting minister. Every person whom I saw spoke favourably of the school, and remarked on the confidence with which it was regarded by all parties in the town."

† I will put down here one question from the Scripture papers for 1874, as an example of the amount of Biblical knowledge demanded even of boys according to their peculiar English views: "Suppose you were living in Israel in the time of Gideon, and you desire to acquire a large estate and make a large fortune; how could you do this? 1, by commerce, or 2, by lending money on interest, or 3, by art, or 4, by literature, or 5, how?"

such details is unnecessary for religious culture. But who will deny that in Germany an intimate knowledge of the contents and connection of the Scriptures has become less and less common, though it is one of the necessary foundations of the Christian faith and of the Protestant belief? If we look back to the development of the intellectual life in Germany during the last four centuries, it seems, as if in the 16th and 17th centuries the Protestant people rallied round their Bible and were absorbed by it, in the 18th century by the belles-lettres, and in the 19th by the political literature of newspapers. The last is certainly the case in England even more than in Germany, but without at the same time disregarding the Bible as much as we do. Our schools have not indeed forgotten what they owe to the young, but in Bible knowledge they are nevertheless far behind the English, and persons well versed in the Bible (*die Bibelfesten*) are very scarce among young and old. I remember a teacher who when I inspected his school told me that he had succeeded in making the pupils of the two highest forms well versed in Schiller (*schillerfest*).

As might be expected from what I have said, English boys even in the lower forms are engaged with the whole Bible. Locke proposed that only an abridgment should be put into their hands. I have heard here and there in England, though rarely, that this is the more correct view, and I myself share it. We have good extracts and abridgments of the Scriptures, but they are by no means used everywhere in the lower forms of our schools. The proper Bible for schools is still a problem that has to be solved. How often have I pitied the children, both boys and girls, when I saw them in Berlin and in other places

carrying the heavy Bible with their other books to school! *I have no hesitation in stating that* I consider it inconsistent *with proper pedagogic principles to put the whole Bible into the hands of young children.*

So far as the schools are concerned, sectarian contrasts in England have for the most part lost their former bitterness. This may be seen among others in Mill Hill School, one of the best known dissenting establishments, when we compare the rules laid down by the founders at the beginning of this century with its present condition in regard to the staff of its teachers and its daily devotional exercises. That which unites all is now felt everywhere more strongly than that which separates. In one of these mixed institutions, where the sons of parents belonging to the Episcopal Church were sent as boarders, though there were dissenters among the teachers, I heard the religious teacher, who also did not belong to the English Church, at morning prayer say: "May God guard us against two general dangers of this age, Ritualism and Rationalism." For a long time there has been no occasion for laying any stress upon the ecclesiastical character of schools belonging either wholly or partially to the English Church. There did not exist, as in the countries of the continent, a contest between Church and State as to which had the greater claims to the schools. Neither the one nor the other had the right to control them. By far the greater number, being endowed schools, were the property of the nation, and thus they served both. In addition to this the majority of teachers were clergymen, and that the schools should belong to the Church was regarded as a matter of course, even in consequence of the daily devotions and of the divine service

on Sundays. At the latter the choirs of the pupils appear in a white surplice, and the lessons are often read in chapel by teachers who are not clergymen. The ceremony of confirmation is usually performed in the chapel of the school; I was present at one, in Forest School, Walthamstow, which was performed by the Bishop of Rochester with impressive solemnity. The preparation for it is often left to the head-master. Dr. Arnold of Rugby himself prepared his pupils for confirmation, and I now found the same to be the case in several schools. It even occurs that a non-Anglican head-master prepares the pupils, and that his training is considered sufficient by the bishop.

But the possession of the public schools by the Episcopal Church has not remained unassailed in modern times. I have already mentioned (p. 100) that, according to the arrangements made about the endowed schools, it is no longer required that the staff of teachers should profess the same religious belief. The late Ministry intended to leave it to the discretion of the governing bodies to lay down rules about religious instruction. Considering the composition of these bodies several schools thought that their connection with the Church was in danger of being thereby dissolved. The present Ministry took up the question with greater caution, and ordained everywhere to inquire as to what was in accordance with the statutes and with the demonstrable or probable intention of the founder. This was not always as clear as it is, *e.g.*, in St. Paul's School, London, whose founder himself was Dean of St. Paul's, and dedicated the school to the Child Jesus (Luke ii. 47), whence for a long time it bore the inscription: "Schola catechizationis puerorum in Christi Optimi Maximi fide et bonis literis."—Wherever the founder had

been a clergyman of the English Church, and wherever he had desired in his school religious instruction and divine worship, it was assumed that it should be only that of the English Church, even though nothing definite was said about it. All the schools established by Edward VI. with the funds of the dissolved chantries were connected with the Church; this consequently could not be overlooked in his school at Birmingham. If the statutes say nothing about religion, and if there is no ground for any conjectures, the practice of the last one hundred years is to be continued.

The above-mentioned attempts to disturb the ancient possession of the schools by the Church are connected with the attacks to which the English State Church in its privileged position is now exposed. Whoever casts a glance at the political and economical movements in England during the last fifty years, cannot be surprised to find that the waves of liberalism roll on against the Church with increased vehemence, and that the cry for disestablishment is becoming louder and louder.

The fact that in many English schools, especially in the great boarding establishments, the Saturday is a holiday, may be regarded as a preparation for the Sunday, to gather strength as it were, and there is indeed need of strength to get through the Sunday. I have passed a Sunday in such an institution, and the impression remaining in my memory is that of a wearisome mental effort; the amount of prayers and Bible lessons, beginning before breakfast, then the forenoon, afternoon, and evening services at church, and then again at home, is so great that, although the beautiful singing of hymns produced a pleasing change, it nevertheless cannot be

supposed that the young should have derived from it edification only. It cannot be otherwise: by such an accumulation, the practice becomes troublesome, and it gradually blunts the feelings, and becomes a merely habitual external action, or rather a passive indifference. This is utterly opposed to our German Protestant conceptions of the holiness of divine worship, and to our views as to the amount of spiritual food that youthful souls can receive for their inner development, however much we may value their growing into Christian habits. I have no doubt that in England too, many educational establishments act differently. But the arrangements of divine worship in the English Church may easily lead the school also into excess.

I am well aware what a treasure the English nation has in its Book of Common Prayer, and I well know what blessed effects it has produced on many generations, and how deeply it has penetrated into the life of the people; all this is beyond my praise, and I consider the absence of fixed forms to be irreconcilable with the idea of the Church, or with that of gospel freedom. But I am equally convinced that the work of the Reformation is not completed for ever, but must be progressive. The ecclesiastical conditions of England clearly show the consequences of the fact that the guardians of the Church have disregarded this, and that with their stagnation in the old formalism they have not allowed themselves to be disturbed either by the movements of Methodism, or in more recent times by Dr. Arnold's principles of ecclesiastical reform. But when I am told that the service of the English Church, such as it is, is nevertheless dear to the congregations, I do not dispute it; but I do maintain

that very many do not truly love it, but follow it as a thing to which they have become accustomed. The length of the liturgy, its many repetitions, but especially the chanting of long psalms, during which you cannot retain the meaning of a single verse, can after all have only the value of an *opus operatum*, which is as opposed to the gospel as to the spirit of the Reformation.

The form of the English Church is a compromise between Romanism and Protestantism. It is very shortsighted to believe that Henry VIII. made the Reformation through his regal power; it is the same mistake as if you were to describe the Magna Charta as the cause of English liberty; it was not its cause, but its effect. The king's power, however, had in so far a decided influence upon the Reformation as he compelled it to stop half-way. The obvious consequence of this arresting its progress, in which people acquiesced, was the ever-increasing dissent from the State Church, and the formation of sects, which in their variety are surpassed only by those of America. If therefore we consider the numerical relations, the Episcopal Church is in point of fact no longer the national Church of England. Other consequences are the increasing conversions to Romanism, the growing number of Romish churches, chapels, monasteries, nunneries, and schools. It rarely happens that a Dissenter becomes a Roman Catholic. But the English Church has remained standing with one foot in Romanism, and if we now witness such ritualistic innovations which imitate the Romish practices with processions, incense, &c., and which we now see in numerous churches, many persons in the false belief that these are the forms of the primitive Church, allow themselves to be drawn into them almost

unconsciously. What sad stories of conversions have of late been brought before the public! * Besides the other allurements of the Roman Church, the English mind is also impressed by its imposing external unity, extending over the whole earth, as compared with the divisions of Protestantism.

But the desertion from the Church is a leap into the dark! When one sees how many, more especially men, go through the customary forms of divine service, without taking any real part in it, one cannot be surprised at its ending in indifferentism. A wide-spread Deism turns away from that which is the essence of Christianity. Of the two works opposed to each other, 'Ecce Homo,' attributed to J. Seeley, now Professor of History in Cambridge, and 'Ecce Deus' by Dr. J. Parker, the former has, I believe, been far more extensively read than the latter, and this is not owing to its insinuating style alone. There is a large number of men who can see in Christianity nothing but an important step in civilisation, for which custom demands respect. In like manner the idea of an atheistic materialism has numerous advocates in England; but it is the wide-spread and strong religious habit of the people that prevents its open avowal, which we witness in Germany.

Even before this England has had teachers whose doctrines were calculated to alienate the people from Church and Christianity, and enough of their teaching was

* In one of them the English Church had the humiliation of hearing the Romish party say, "Tu l'as voulu! As long as members of the Church of England are in the habit of imitating the Roman devotion of celebrating Mass, invoking the saints, oral confession, reciting the rosary, and the like, conversions will follow, which, sudden as they may appear, are but the necessary consequences of such a line of conduct."

imported into Germany during the last century, but the effect of such doctrines has never penetrated deeply into the English nation. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by observing that many things in their religious habits have become empty forms, *e.g.*, the often completely unintelligible and rapid saying of grace before and after dinner, or the forms of taking leave in the evening, when immediately after joyous conversation one hears, "Remember me in your prayers" in the sense of the ordinary good-bye! But the fact that in the ecclesiastical life of the English also many things have become mere mechanical habits, does not justify us in general to speak of hypocrisy, as is sometimes done. Where has that which is sacred been preserved from becoming a mere external form? Caricatures of it exist everywhere. There still exists, nevertheless, a widespread earnest religious feeling in the English people, and a faith active in charity. In the midst of all external habits, the Gospel is still to numberless people a divine power, and in very many houses the whole family life is still based upon it. Whoever lives in the country, and carefully observes, will discover efforts and works of Christian charity which are perhaps not surpassed in any other country in extent, in readiness to sacrifice, and in persevering personal devotion. During the last two years, you may hear complaints everywhere in England, as in other countries, about the stagnation of trade, the want of employment, and the lowness of wages; but the incomes of the British Bible Society and of the Missionary Societies, have in the same years been larger than during the preceding years; and although we must admit that England is richer than Germany, yet for these and many other charitable

objects considerably more, proportionately, is given in England.

The tendency towards Romanism, which has in recent times shown itself more than before, does not justify the inference that the English people are abandoning their Protestantism. These are only isolated phenomena in the up and down movements of the waves of historical development; they have but small influence on the whole, and cannot be regarded as proofs of any change in the fundamental features of the national character of the English, which is eminently Protestant. If they would or could tolerate a dominion of the papacy, with its present tendency, they would cease to be Englishmen.

The interest in religious questions is very active among them, and I have often had opportunities of taking part in conversations of this kind. A merchant, in whose family I spent a day in his country place, soon put to me the question: "What do you think of our way of spending the Sunday?" I did not make a secret of my opinion, which I had before hinted at. What he replied to me in the course of our further conversation may be condensed in the following words: I am not surprised that you speak of exaggeration and its dangers; but the matter with us stands differently from what it does with you on the continent. I have, at an early period, come to see that life without religion is desolate and empty. No religion is without mystery, and corresponding with it there is a mystic aspiration in every human heart. This aspiration of the heart towards God, like every natural disposition when left unused, may gradually die away. To reproach a man with whom this is the case would be as unfair as to blame one who has weak eyes, or is

deprived of a sense without any fault of his own; but you cannot come to an understanding with such a one on matters which presuppose this sense, nor can you discuss religion with one who has no other organ for it than a man may have for the study of natural science or for business undertakings; religion in this case signifies quite different things. But we are in England, and, considering the all-absorbing business of the day and the week, and the outward restlessness of our public life, we are in the greatest danger of having the susceptibility of our inner life injured. We therefore consider it wholesome and necessary to devote one entire day out of the seven to that inner life; we need it as our spiritual diet.

The same man thought that we were threatened by another danger. He entertained the opinion, which is very general in England, that German theology had lost the right path. "It has," said he, "lost its influence on the life of the nation through its abstract theories, which are foreign to the religious life of the people. Your theology seems to forget that the human mind has more than one door through which it has intercourse with the spiritual world; pure intellect does not stand sentinel at each. The power of faith is the strongest vital power of every nation! and the religious and moral truths which originate in it, have as much strength and right for the whole of human existence as scientific truths have in their domain; and I also consider the education of the young, in which this point is overlooked, to be a mistake."

Although I could not but agree with him in this, yet I could not admit that he possessed a sufficient knowledge of German theology; he generalised too quickly from

special theological works, and from special facts which had become known to him, with which it was not difficult to contrast others of a different kind.

He looked with sadness at the conversions to Romanism, but he did not regard them with any apprehension. "Old Puritanism was an excess of virtue in the English people," said he, "and I do not wish it to be revived; but, believe me, if things go on as they have been during the last few years, the time is not far distant when the spirit of Cromwell will again rise against the secret plottings of Popery."

When I remember my observations made in former times, I must confess that the method of preaching in the English Church has acquired a more vigorous life. It was formerly thought necessary to *read* the sermon, but I have now observed this practice only in rare cases; and —I do not know whether it was only an accident that I heard such sermons in several places—the expounding of the Word of God generally directed the minds of the congregation to a trustful and joyous *activity*. It would be a narrow view to trace this to the disposition of the English mind, which is everywhere drawn towards active life. I think it corresponds with the spirit of the Gospel, and ought, also, more to be considered in the education of the young. Some years ago, when a reading-book for elementary schools, composed in a pre-eminently Christian spirit, attracted general attention on account of a story about a "Boy Veit," though it was related in an awkward manner, I examined the book, and found that it deserved much greater blame than praise, because its Christianity was too passive, and because children did not meet in it the joyous and encouraging tone of:

"Lift up your hands!" it taught more resignation than elevation.

The English freedom of individual action may be observed also in the English Church, especially in the exceedingly large number of different hymn books which are in common use. I was much pleased to find in them many a successful translation from the treasury of our German hymns; in like manner several of our choral melodies have been introduced. Some of the best recent translations of German hymns are found in the 'Hymns from the Land of Luther,' published in 1863.

LETTER XIV.

The Position of Teachers—Their Preparation, Examination, Appointment, Salaries, Pensions—The Profession of Teacher.

Scarborough.

I HAVE hitherto touched but lightly upon the *office of teachers* in the higher schools, and the *circumstances of teachers* in general. The importance of the question demands that I should enter somewhat more minutely upon some of its aspects.

The proper preparation of teachers for their special calling, as may be easily understood, has been recognised as one of the first necessities in the general revision of school affairs; it is entirely wanting. "Ours is the only highly intellectual profession," says a head-master, "for which men are supposed to be sufficiently educated without the slightest professional training."* But what is to

* Similarly another says: "A classical teacher enters upon his

be done? Where and how is the preparation to be made, and who is to direct it? As regards elementary schools the best success has already been attained by training colleges partly maintained at the public expense. For the higher schools the requisite means do not exist; however, the Charity Commissioners have already expressed their opinion that the application of a part of the ample funds of the endowed schools to the erection of training colleges would not be opposed to the objects of the foundation. But how far would this avail? and in general are training colleges as necessary for the higher schools as they are for the lower ones? Those who deny this sometimes appeal to Germany. It is one of the erroneous conceptions of our school system to suppose that in Germany there is no preparation for the teachers in higher schools. That which does exist is, indeed, little, considering the extent of our higher school system, and does not attract much attention.

Attempts have been made in England, as has been done with us, to supply the place of training colleges by placing young candidates under experienced and able teachers where they might learn the art of teaching by direct observation, and under the guidance of their masters. But no great progress has been made on account of the very want of good teaching powers. The candidates were always called away too soon, and were, moreover, obliged to accept a paid situation in order to support

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duties as soon as he has taken his degree as a Bachelor of Arts, without undergoing any professional training, without attending any course of lectures on education, without having read any book on the subject. He is supposed to conform to the traditions of the establishment to which he attaches himself."

themselves. For the same reason it has not been possible to introduce the year of probation (*Probejahr*), although it is considered very desirable.

To gain the special object in question, it was natural to think of the universities, the more so as in recent times Oxford and Cambridge have done so much to promote education. But both universities have in the meantime declined to take the matter up; moreover, the minutes of the Headmasters' Conferences show that it is by no means the general conviction that Oxford and Cambridge are suitable places for preparing young men for the office of teachers, because, after all, the acquisition of knowledge does not make a good teacher. In the meantime two Scottish universities have taken at least one step in advance; at Edinburgh and at St. Andrews chairs of pedagogy have been established.

In the different discussions on this subject the idea of Training Colleges has always met with most favour. To promote this object there has been formed, among others, a "Committee for promoting the Establishment of Training Colleges for Masters of Schools, higher than elementary." It is headed, among others, by Lord Lyttleton, Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, and Canon H. G. *Robinson*."* The first lately established institution for this purpose is the Cathedral College of Bristol, a training college in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England; the subjects taught show that it is mainly intended to train teachers for middle-class schools.

A special examination for the office of teachers in higher

* This member of the Charity Commission in the Endowed Schools Department has published, in 1875, 'Suggestions of training Teachers for Secondary Schools.'

schools does not exist in England, if we except the arrangements made by the College of Preceptors for candidates; but this is a self-constituted examining body (compare p. 127). In general not much is expected from special examinations instituted by the universities, even supposing they consented to undertake them; they might indeed, it is said, ascertain the amount of knowledge possessed by a candidate, but not as to whether he understands how to instruct and educate boys and girls.

In these circumstances teachers are appointed upon the ground of testimonials which have no reference to the special requirements of the office of teacher, such as university certificates, or have no official character like those granted by the College of Preceptors,* or lastly, are only attestations and recommendations given by teachers or private persons. Now if we consider that even the B.A. degree (see p. 135) confers the full qualification for the office of teacher, the demands made in England cannot be compared at all with those made in Germany. It scarcely requires to be stated that the numerous private schools which are perfectly independent in their appointment of teachers make still humbler claims. I have often heard complaints about the want of well-qualified teachers. The Royal Commissioners for the Endowed Schools recommended that at least in these schools no one should be appointed who did not possess a university degree or a satisfactory certificate. Head-masters also say, "If the state protects us from quack physicians, the state is also bound to protect us from quack teachers." But they must often do as well as they can; the number of

* "In England not a single certificate for teaching is given by public authority professedly to teachers in schools above the primary schools."

teachers does not increase in proportion to the growing want.*

In Scotland men who have studied at a university very often undertake the management of parochial or elementary schools, on account of the handsome salaries which are derived in part from charitable endowments. One of the most remarkable of these is the Dick Bequest. James Dick, at his death in 1828, left a sum of money, now amounting to 120,000*l.*, with a view that the interest of this sum should, among other things, be devoted to increase the salaries of the parochial schoolmasters of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray; something similar is done at the Kloster-Gymnasium in Berlin from Streit's endowment. The trustees of the Dick Bequest have made it a condition that this considerable addition to the salary shall be received only after an examination in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Natural Science. The rich bequest of John Ferguson (1856) is likewise applied to benefit schoolmasters. Most heads of schools in the north-eastern counties of Scotland now possess a university degree. I may here remind you that the Scottish parochial schools in their course of instruction mostly go beyond mere elementary education (see p. 59).

The procedure in forming the staff of teachers in schools, which in consequence of their endowments have governing bodies is, with few exceptions, as follows. The governing body appoints the head-master, and he chooses all the other teachers (see pp. 98, 113). In exceptional

* In Dr. Arnold's time many of his pupils became teachers. "He inspired a belief that there was a poetry, a glory and a delight in teaching which had been too long unobserved or neglected: but now this enthusiasm has faded."

the assistant masters, college tutors, &c., are appointed by the governing body. In other cases the election of teachers belongs to the patrons or the proprietor of the schools.

It was formerly a pretty general rule for the upper teachers in public schools to be clergymen, but this custom is now more and more abandoned: it is no longer the general rule that "the schoolmaster must be a clergyman if he is to rise high;" there are now only few institutions where this is positively required. That those teachers who form an integral part of a school should belong to a Christian community is a matter of course; in the case of those who attend schools only for certain hours, such as to teach drawing, music, &c., no attention is paid to their religious opinions. Matthew Arnold,* in his report on the German institutions with which he had become acquainted, disapproves, from his English point of view, of the Prussian rule that the provincial school authorities, before appointing or proposing a master, have to inform themselves of his previous official and unofficial conduct. In reality, however, the difference between England and Prussia consists only in this, that in the latter country the inquiry is made by the order of an authority, whereas in England, where in the interest of the school the inquiry cannot be dispensed with, it is left entirely to him who has the right of appointment.

The different rank among the teachers of the same institution is determined by their university degrees, by the appointment as regular master or assistant teacher, by the subjects taught by each, by the succession of the classes, and by the length of service; but the differences

* 'Higher Schools and Universities in Germany,' 1874, 2nd edition.

are not marked by any special titles. All the teachers are assistants of the head-master; the first of them is sometimes called vice-master or second-master, after whom there follows the third, fourth master, &c. Graduates are externally distinguished by their gowns, which they always wear during their official functions, the M.A. having a hood of a different colour from that of a B.A.

There is, of course, no higher authority to confirm any appointment, and all are appointed on the understanding that they may be dismissed at pleasure. As the head-master may be dismissed at any time by the governing body without any reasons being stated, so the other masters also may be dismissed by the head-master. Some such dismissals have recently created great sensation, as, *e.g.*, that of the predecessor of the present head-master of Rugby, and of the head-master of the grammar school at Felsted, who had held the office for twenty years; in neither case was the dismissal caused by any misconduct or alleged incapacity; similarly a master who had held his office for fifteen years at Eton was dismissed by the head-master. The masters may appeal to the governing body, which, however, in general hesitates to disavow the head-master, because he bears the responsibility for the whole. "The head-master is the school!" Both are in reality responsible only to public opinion, which has recently pronounced against both, when the head-master of the grammar school at Cambridge dismissed a master, whose great ability had been acknowledged both by himself and his predecessor. The general opinion is that it was done only from clerical intolerance; it was unpleasant to the head-master, a Churchman, to have a Wesleyan (such was the persuasion of the teacher)

among his staff. Hence this case also has done its part to increase the unpopularity of the State Church.

It is said not to be a very uncommon thing for a new head-master, in order to obtain fresh tools, to remove some of the masters whom he finds already in office; they must get other appointments wherever they can. It certainly is an invaluable advantage for a head-master that the teachers cannot be imposed upon him against his wish, and that he can select them according to his wants; but on the other hand a summary dismissal is often a great hardship, particularly if, as in the Eton case, the master has also a boarding house connected with the school. The wish therefore which has often been expressed by teachers of late years to obtain appointments, which after a period of trial shall secure them against arbitrary proceedings, is perfectly justifiable.

In Germany pretensions have often been made by teachers which scarcely leave to the head-master the position of a *primus inter pares;* in England the head-master is the absolute ruler. The opposite principle prevails in the burgh schools of Scotland, where the teachers, elected by the patrons, are in no way subordinate to the Rector: each conducts his own class independently of him.

In the Recommendations of the Public Schools Commission, the head-masters are recommended to hold school councils with their masters. It is done in some institutions; but the head-master is not obliged to hold them regularly, nor is he bound by any of their resolutions. In their method of instructing, and in the performance of their official duties in general, the teachers are not superintended by the head-master: they are at liberty to act as they think right and proper. The chief control

lies in the final results. It moreover rarely happens that a head-master inquires, *e.g.*, about the punctuality with which lessons are begun, &c., or that his sanction is asked when a master has occasion to request a colleague to take his place. This kind of independence, and the somewhat loose connection in which very often teachers of the same school stand to one another, is by no means generally regarded as an advantage. One teacher expressed himself to me on this subject: "Yes, we are a teaching *body*, and have a *head*-master; but we see very little of an organic community, which you might suppose to exist among us; we have no conferences, and the character of a community is hardly visible anywhere else than in our common devotions: we are good colleagues, but every one stands in reality in an isolated position."

The weekly number of lessons of one hour, which a master is obliged to give, may indeed be stated according to the different time-tables; but in most cases this does not include all the duties of a teacher, least of all in the great boarding establishments, which are connected with most of the public schools. The masters, especially the junior ones, have to spend much time upon preparing the pupils for their lessons, as well as upon their guidance and superintendence, and are in general expected to do more work than is the case in Germany. This is considered to be the reason why teachers in England produce much less in literature than the German teachers of the higher schools.

The *salaries* of teachers are on an average proportionately higher in England than with us; this, however, refers only to the large public schools, for in the numerous private schools the pay is often incredibly low. The

income of the regular masters in public schools is rarely fixed; it very frequently depends upon the number of pupils (capitation fee), and consequently varies according to the larger or smaller amount of the school fees received—an arrangement the disadvantages of which to the school itself are pretty generally recognised. The head-master and his colleagues often increase their incomes considerably by boarders whom they receive into their houses, or whom, in the great public schools, the head-master hands over to the special care of the masters. In some of the new or newly organised schools the governing body, considering the dangers of making money in this manner, have reserved to themselves this part of the school management.* The exemption of the sons of teachers from paying school fees is by no means regarded as a matter of course; in King's College, however, *e.g.*, they only pay half the fees.

Retiring pensions are not secured to teachers on their appointment; every one must manage his affairs in such a manner as to provide for the future of himself and his family, when he may no longer be able to work. As often

* "The general management is in the hands of the governing body, so that it is not an object to the masters that profit should be made from boarders." The following is an example of the remunerations of assistant masters: in one of the larger institutions, I found a teacher of German and gymnastics, who two years before had left a Prussian *Realschule* of the first order with a certificate of maturity, and who after the lapse of another year intended to present himself in Germany at the examination *pro facultate docendi*. On my asking to what extent he was engaged in the school, and what salary he received, the head-master replied, that, on an average, he was daily engaged in the school for two hours and a half, that he took no part in the superintendence of the pupils, that he could calculate on about fifteen weeks' holidays in the course of the year, and that he received 200*l.* per annum. This case may have been exceptionally favourable.

as I directed attention to the difference which in this respect exists between the German and English school arrangements, I was told: "If we were obliged to take into consideration the future pensioning of masters, we should be obliged to pay them lower salaries." Some associations of teachers in England as well as in Scotland have in recent times publicly expressed themselves very strongly upon the necessity of granting pensions. A commencement has been made at Eton, where pensions have at least been declared to be permissible, and likewise in some other endowed schools, at least for the head-masters.*

Teachers in England do not yet form a distinct *profession*. In Germany teaching has, during the present century, become more and more a distinct profession, especially since the time when, upon the suggestion of F. A. Wolf, the office of teacher was separated from that of the clergyman, and consequently there has arisen among the teachers a consciousness of a distinct profession. The honour of the profession in England, in the case of the higher schools, is mostly still connected with the clerical character; and teachers, as a class, do not yet enjoy a full recognition, by the side of the other learned professions of clergymen, lawyers, and physicians. But the arrangements made regarding the staffs of teachers in the endowed schools are producing some effects in this

* In the new statutes of Eton (1872), §. 19: "It shall be lawful for the governing body to award retiring pensions to deserving masters, who shall have served as head-master, or for at least fifteen years as masters in the school. Such pensions shall not exceed 400*l.* per annum each, nor 4000*l.* per annum in the aggregate." An example of other endowed schools, as well as of the salaries, may be seen in the scheme for Wakefield given in the Appendix.

respect also. Some symptoms, already observable in the social position of teachers, leave no doubt that soon the gentleman will be recognised in the teacher as such, and not only in his clerical character, as has hitherto been commonly the case. It is well-known that Dr. Arnold demanded that a teacher should be a Christian and a gentleman; and, so far as I have been able to observe, this demand is very honourably realised by the masters of the higher schools in England. What constitutes the character of a gentleman in the wider sense of the word, culture, noble manly sentiment, independence of character, and a higher interest in general affairs, I have observed this time, as before, wherever I have come in close personal contact with teachers of the higher schools. In this respect England has no reason to fear a comparison with the teachers of other countries; nay, I regard it impossible for English teachers in higher schools to use language such as we may sometimes see in our own educational journals, where a hostile personal criticism takes the place of a fair judgment of facts: such a thing would be regarded as ungentlemanly, unfair, and of bad taste. In England the independence which every one claims for himself is always combined with a respectful recognition of the equal rights of others, who may perhaps occupy quite a different position. It is indeed possible that the grandeur of the national life in England contributes towards the diffusion of this feeling. It is always a happiness to take part in such a life. In my former official position I have often had to deal with young ambitious men among teachers, who felt the narrowness of the circumstances in which they had to live in small towns

like a paralysing pressure, and who dreaded to become small and pedantic themselves; and it always afforded me great pleasure when I succeeded in procuring for such men the opportunity at least of travelling for scientific or literary purposes, whereby they might enlarge their views and accustom themselves to a wider horizon. The great national progress of Germany since the year 1866, has had its elevating influence also upon the life of the schools. I can never forget how generously many of our most excellent teachers gave up situations which had become dear to them, in order to be able to take part in the patriotic work of the German education of the young in Alsace-Lorraine.

Several educational societies, teachers' leagues, &c., contribute much to promote and elevate among the teachers of England the consciousness of their profession; the same is further done by occasional meetings of teachers to discuss their common interests.

LETTER XV.

Instruction of Girls—A Glance at America—The mixed System and Female Teachers in Boys' Schools there—English Efforts to increase and improve Girls' Schools—The Education of Women in general.

Scarborough.

THE transition from the male to the *female teachers* would be quite natural, if in England women were also engaged as teachers in the higher schools for boys, as is the case in the States of North America. This practice has as yet not been adopted, though it has been recommended in

many quarters. Without therefore being induced by such a close connection, I will nevertheless make some observations upon female teachers and female instruction in general, in order to complete my sketches of English school affairs.

First let me say a few words upon the above-mentioned American arrangement, which will become more intelligible by the "mixed school system," according to which boys and girls receive their instruction in common. This system is applied in America, not only in village schools and in elementary education in general, as is the case in Germany and England, but is continued up to the university, especially in the Western States, as in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Illinois. It is supported by such eminent educational authorities as Horace Mann, and is constantly extending. Boys and girls receive quite the same instruction, sometimes in separate parts of the same class room, and sometimes sitting mixed together. There are also colleges and boarding houses for both sexes, where at dinner they generally sit together without distinction. The opponents of such a "co-education" in public schools are sometimes told that in bodily food no distinction is made between boys and girls; why then should it be otherwise with mental food? And the school, they say, is to be the image of a family, where both sexes live in constant community. They evidently do not, in using such arguments, inquire whether a school ought to be and can be really such an image, and whether the conditions of the life and the objects of the family are not essentially different. They likewise attach no importance to moral considerations; the very fact that they learn together, it is said, will prevent the young people

from forming romantic connections.* But experience has often shown the contrary; the assumed disciplinary effect of making the moral temperament of boys gentler through their intercourse with the other sex, and the girls more energetic, seems to be limited to the latter.

There can be no doubt that girls can learn Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c., and in proper circumstances such studies may be fostered, when the inclination and eminent talent for them exist, but not according to the requirements of a course of instruction in public schools, drawn up without distinguishing boys and girls. It can be proved physiologically and psychologically that, with few exceptions, female nature is differently constituted; eminent physicians, moreover, have maintained that girls are incapable in the same years, and after the same methods, of pursuing scientific studies with the same success as male youths, although it may often happen that in general mental development and judgment a girl may be several years in advance of a boy of the same age. The advocates of mixed instruction in America will hardly recognise the force of the objection that boys afterwards apply in office, or in life, what they have learnt at the Gymnasia and Realschulen, but that girls cannot make the same use of their knowledge. For there is in America no such wide difference in the problems of life of the two sexes; and what is there common to both does not only consist in the general mental culture, but also in the equal capacity for not a few callings, and in the equal right to adopt such callings, especially that of public teacher in schools for the two sexes.

* "Nothing acts as a better antidote for romance than young men and women doing geometry together at 8 o'clock every morning."

We may regard this as a natural result of the above-mentioned mixed instruction. The number of female teachers, both in mixed and in boys' schools, is in America already very large, and extends even to the highest forms, where among other things they also teach mathematics and the ancient languages. In the public schools, including the grammar schools and colleges of St. Louis, far more female than male teachers are engaged. The success, especially in discipline, is highly spoken of, because from natural courtesy, and on account of the greater female gentleness, boys more readily obey a mistress than a master. It is said to happen occasionally that when a class has become unruly under a master, a female teacher is sent for to restore order. This reminds me of this year's Commemoration at Oxford, which consists of speeches and the public distribution of prizes; on such occasions the students made use of their ancient customary freedom by noisily expressing from the gallery their sympathies and antipathies towards individual persons in the assemblage. It was this year resolved to prevent the offensive scenes of former years, and the means adopted for effecting this was to assign to the undergraduates their places among the ladies of the audience. The object was attained, and the ceremony passed off satisfactorily.

Two years ago two ladies, on being one morning introduced into my room, expressed a wish to be allowed to be present during lessons in the schools of Berlin. They were American ladies, of the age of about 20 to 24. They had not considered it worth while to learn German for the object they had in view; their whole appearance showed the self-reliance and boldness peculiar to many

American ladies. I assumed that they wished to become acquainted with our higher girls' schools, and was on the point of writing down for them the names of some head-masters of such schools, when they gave me to understand that they were particularly anxious to attend the instruction in mathematics and the ancient languages in the Gymnasia. They could not understand my astonishment at this, and said that they themselves were teachers of these subjects, and that they were desirous to observe the German method of teaching them. I had great difficulty in inducing them to abandon their intention. My saying, "It is against our custom," made some impression, but only for a moment: they persisted in their demand. At last when I told them that I could not answer for anything if they carried out their wish, and asked them whether they would risk to be received with immense hilarity in a class of about fifty merry boys of the fifth form, they desisted. Some days later the teacher of an American middle-class school appeared and was readily admitted. He told me that one year's leave of absence had been granted to him all the more readily, because he had been able to recommend an able female teacher as his substitute. The American system has its eulogists in England, and in Germany also advocates are not wanting; among the latter I may mention Professor Gneist in Berlin, who in a special essay on mixed instruction justly states that there can be no question of opening the universities to ladies, until the mixed system has been introduced into the higher schools preparing for them. Americans, and among them Mr. George Bancroft, have repeatedly told me: "You too will have all that; the movement proceeds from west to east." But in the

meantime we feel it to be something un-German, and we shall not be willing to follow the American tendency towards levelling in this direction, as long as the social position of women remains with us as different from the American, as it fortunately still is.

In connection with the general movement in England, for increasing and improving the schools, the desire of the female sex for education, and the sympathising efforts in support of it, have increased immensely. A zealous supporter of these efforts once called out to his countrymen, "You have emancipated the slaves, the Jews, the Roman Catholics, the Dissenters, and the Irish; let us not forget the women!" The educational question is thus mixed up with the extension of the rights of women. The work of Miss Mary Wolstonecraft, 'A Vindication of the Rights of Women,' which was the first of a considerable literature on the subject in England, bore the revolutionary character of the age in which it appeared (1792) in so marked a manner, that its effect was rather deterring than otherwise. Mrs. Hannah More, who in her remarkable book, 'Cœlebs in Search of a Wife' (1808), treated the same subject with more tact and feminine reserve, was read with much greater attention. Since that time the movement for extending the rights of women in England has proceeded slowly, but favourably. The right of voting at municipal elections was obtained as early as 1869; they also elect and are themselves eligible for the School Boards, which have been established in nearly every town. They do not yet possess the right of voting for Members of Parliament; but the bill for the removal of this disability was rejected last April by a majority of only 35 votes (187 against 152), Gladstone

and Disraeli voting in the minority. But it is not my purpose here to pursue this question any further.

The education of women in England now presents a very varied spectacle. On the one hand it is still limited, in the sense of Isaac Taylor's 'Home Education' (7th edit. 1867), to the family where a governess or a private tutor gives the instruction desired by the parents. It often happens that boys up to the age of twelve or thirteen are instructed with their sisters by the same governess even in Latin. Many other wealthy families send their daughters into one of the numerous boarding schools, many of which, especially the fashionable ones, both large and small, are found principally in and near London, and at Brighton. Several of them, in complaisant obedience to all the wishes of mothers, are said to afford instruction in all manner of "ladylike" accomplishments, and a superficial education calculated only to satisfy appearances; others are reputed to have been eminently successful with their pupils by sound instruction and a thoroughly good education. The course of instruction in the higher schools for girls, almost everywhere includes, besides modern languages, Latin and Mathematics, at least as optional subjects; instruction in music, for which separate payment is made, is of course given everywhere. Some also, like the public schools, attract attention (p. 198) by publishing a journal or magazine; I have seen one entitled 'Milton Mount Magazine' published by a girls' boarding school.* It also happens

* In an essay on holidays, Annie Martin writes: "With what a sigh of relief does a girl lay down her Euclid or Virgil, and determine to forget for the ensuing month that classics or mathematics ever had any existence."

not unfrequently that girls are sent to boarding schools in Germany or France, mostly for the purpose of acquiring the languages of those countries better and more easily; but it is also looked upon as a distinction to be able to provide for the education of daughters in this unusual way.

The middle classes also frequently avail themselves of boarding schools; or their daughters, after having regularly attended a day school of the locality, and enjoyed a short period of regular instruction, are sent at the age of fourteen or fifteen, for one or two years, to a "finishing" school, in order to receive there the "final polish." In these cases mothers are not much concerned about the learning of their daughters. The lady principal of an educational establishment told me, that anxious mothers sometimes came to her complaining that the child was always sitting at home over its books, and begged her to take care to prevent the child becoming a blue. The girls' schools of the Quakers and Moravians, which are not exclusively attended by the children of those sects, enjoy a specially good reputation. Roman Catholic nunneries generally have connected with them girls' schools, both for boarders and day scholars.

By far the greater number of girls' schools are private undertakings; in England they are usually conducted by ladies, in Scotland more frequently by men. These institutions, if we consider the nature of many, are not sufficient for the actual want. What is particularly needed are good middle-class schools for girls, corresponding to the higher middle-class schools or grammar schools for boys. Ever since this want has made itself felt, and ever since attention has been directed to the defects of

female school education in general, an active zeal has manifested itself in several places to make up in this respect also for what has long been neglected. Independently of the anxiety for the future of unmarried women, the consideration of the duties of a mother has in this respect also exercised its influence: an educated mother is of more importance to the family than an educated father.

The government as far as was possible has extended the School Inquiry to girls' schools also; and by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 the governing bodies have been empowered—in some cases a definite arrangement has been made—to apply a portion of the endowments formerly given to boys' schools only, to the instruction and education of girls. Simultaneously associations have been formed for the same purpose. As an example I will here mention the Girls' Public Day School Company* which is in connection with the National Union for improving the education of women. This company meets

* "The intention of the company is to establish and maintain in such parts of London and the provinces, as may from time to time be decided on, superior day-schools at a moderate cost" (see Appendix I.). Its object is in its institutions to avoid the many old defects discovered by the School Inquiry Commission, "want of thoroughness and foundation, slovenliness and showy superficiality in attention to rudiments, undue time given to accomplishments, and these not taught intelligently or in any scientific manner, want of organization." Here also examinations are the main thing looked to: "If desired, pupils will be prepared for such university and other examinations as may be open to them. A regular system of yearly examination by examiners unconnected with the school will be established." In this new arrangement also the head-mistresses have at once acquiesced in the possibility of their being dismissed by the council. Each one on her appointment has to sign a document in which, among other things, it is stated: "If I am removed by the council, I will acquiesce in such removal" (comp. p. 226).

with much encouragement and has already established twelve schools; each of them has a special governing body responsible to the council of the company. These new institutions are intended to give an education "as sound and as thorough as that which boys now receive in grammar schools of the highest class." Opportunities are also offered to pupils in these schools of training themselves for the office of teachers, as is often the case in the higher girls' schools in Germany. The Corporation of Hutcheson's Hospital at Glasgow has opened this year a new girls' school for the middle classes, in which besides languages, geography, and arithmetic, bookkeeping also, telegraphy, needlework, household economy and cookery are taught, in order to prepare the girls not only for domestic duties, but also to render them fit to fill positions in the Post-office, in telegraphic and other establishments where female labour is in remunerative demand.

Academic and other institutions for the varied culture of women and girls have been established of late years in several places. Queen's College in London has existed ever since 1853. There and in almost all similar institutions the ancient languages also are taught; the same is the case in the Ladies' Educational Association connected with the London and Edinburgh Universities, and in the Clifton Association for the higher education of women. At Cambridge classes have been opened for women, and in the neighbourhood of the town there are Newham Hall and Girton College, which have been established for the same purpose, and are much frequented. University College at Bristol has opened its lectures and exercises, with the exception of the medical classes, to students of

both sexes. The inventor of the Holloway pills has purchased a piece of land near Egham, not far from London, for 25,000*l.*, intending to erect upon it a ladies' university, on so grand and comprehensive a scale that, if it is ever carried out, it will even surpass Vassar College near New York. Girls are admitted to scientific examinations in nearly all the universities, and it often happens that they carry off good certificates and prizes in Latin, mathematics, and natural philosophy, and sometimes even in Greek, chemistry, geology, logic, and political economy.

The fact that the means of education are now offered to females in a much ampler measure than before, again shows the energy of the English people. The earnestness and the persevering strength herein manifested is deserving of admiration. The number of women distinguished by special studies in some departments of knowledge is in England very large. And it very often happens that the wife is not only interested in the scientific occupations of her husband, but takes an active part in them. Their literary activity also is not to be undervalued; for although English authoresses have published very much that is worthless, still we are indebted to them for a series of excellent historical works and translations; even the Tauchnitz Collection contains not a few things which surpass the merits of ordinary entertaining literature, and in which the higher interests, originality of conception, and excellence of style are combined to such a degree that we may well admit that England in productions of this kind is at present excelled by no other country. But it is just this praiseworthy share of English ladies in the literature of their country

that shows at the same time the limit of the female mind for it.

I do not believe that in the modern striving after intellectual culture, however honourable it is, the limits clearly marked by nature and by the destination of the sex are sufficiently considered. People have in general not formed sufficiently clear ideas in regard to the object, and the result is but too often out of proportion to the great efforts which are expected to be made both bodily and mentally. Moreover I, for my part, consider it to be too dependent and narrow a conception, nay, an utter mistake to imitate as far as it is in any way possible the arrangements existing for the scientific education of the male sex. This mistake is committed in establishing the collegiate system for girls, in teaching them mostly the same subjects, in following the same methods, in employing the same pressure to gain certificates and prizes, and other things of the same kind. Many parents have no eyes to see what their daughters lose for ever through such a gain; and the present academical course of study is the most unsuited of all for training female teachers.

It is quite certain that the education of the two sexes must have a common foundation not only in religion, but, *e.g.*, also in history and literature, if the wives are to meet their husbands in understanding the great problems of life. And as it would be an injurious one-sidedness to develope in boys only knowledge and conscious activity, so it would be an equal mistake to regard the development of the feelings and of receptivity as the only problem in the education of girls. On the contrary, it is especially in girls that the greatest importance should be attached to the clearness of their conceptions,

because knowledge and feeling must work together to produce the right volition. But it does not follow from this that the plan and method of instructing girls should be made as like as possible to the arrangements destined for boys and youths. If we add to this the girls' own eagerness to overcome what is strange and hard by obstinate diligence, this often not only injures health, but oftener involves the loss of the genuine feminine character. To feel the correctness of this view, one must have seen how crowds of girls with their books, &c., hurry to the lectures—for it is lectures that are demanded above all things—and one must have heard even in a railway carriage how they talk about problems in natural philosophy, while others, as I have often witnessed, diligently study some Latin grammar. Englishmen themselves are not unconscious that their female students also adopt more and more the free ways of the Americans, and that in their eagerness to learn, they often do not only gain knowledge, but acquire a misdirected culture which destroys the feminine character and grace.

Some months ago I went from Hastings to Battle, to revisit the old abbey. The gate was still locked. Awaiting its opening, I sat down on a shady bench close by. The same was done by a girl of about twenty with her two brothers, who were spending their holidays at home, and whom she had taken to Battle to show them the abbey. As two nuns happened to be passing, I asked her whether there was a convent in the place. She said No, and our conversation starting from this point was continued for a short time, when the gate was opened, and we afterwards walked for some time together in the park. In our conversation I made use of a French word,

because I considered it more significant. She said, "What does that mean? Pray tell it me in English." When I remarked that I had thought French was taught in all English girls' schools, she said she belonged to the sect of the Plymouth Brethren, in whose schools there were, indeed, opportunities of learning French, but that her parents had not considered it necessary, and that with the exception of a little mathematics, she had received only the usual elementary instruction. I was astonished to hear this. But notwithstanding this naïve confession of her ignorance, her conversation had shown me that she possessed such a clear understanding, *e.g.*, in ecclesiastical matters, and such a fine taste in her judgment of the architecture of the abbey, as to make on me the impression of a healthy simplicity and of an harmonious culture resting on a deep foundation. Her mind had nothing of an acquired showiness; everything was her own and was naturally developed from within. She was, moreover, free from sectarian pride, and within her narrow sphere she evidently enjoyed a satisfaction which many never attain in their wider spheres. This Plymouth sister shall form the conclusion of my letter about women.

LETTER XVI.

The Elementary Schools before and after the Education Act of 1870—The Religious Difficulty—The Birmingham League—Payment by Results—The Education Act of 1876.

Scarborough.

It is characteristic of the state of *elementary schools* in England that, after the introduction of a new order by the Elementary Education Act in 1870, not a year has passed without alterations being made in it, and that Parliament during the present year's long session has been engaged upon no subject so much as again with elementary schools, without the discussions about it, according to all appearance, having been brought to a final close by the Act of 1876. We may see from this, on the one hand, that in this matter the government has to deal with great difficulties, and on the other, that there exists both in the people and its representatives a general and unceasing interest in the question about education.

In the first place, let me remind you of the following facts which belong to an earlier period: Scotland, ever since the Reformation, has had its parochial schools; in England the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698 made provisions for popular instruction, and established a large number of schools; an association for Sunday Schools was formed as early as 1785. The National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church was founded by Andrew Bell, and has been under the protectorate of the Archbishops of Canterbury ever since 1811; the

British and Foreign School Society, which owes its origin to Joseph Lancaster, has displayed extensive activity since 1814; this last society allows the Bible to be read in its schools, but no sectarian religious instruction is given. Both these societies are supported partly by the churches, and partly by private benevolence and bequests. In 1833 (see p. 48) they received for the first time subsidies from the state, and in 1839 (see p. 91) an educational board was instituted, chiefly to control these subsidies, which from the first were granted on condition of the respective schools being inspected by persons appointed by the state. Accordingly the inspection of schools by the state is not the result of a natural right, but of a compact: a school which does not receive or take money from the state cannot be superintended by it.—Ever since 1840, the Wesleyans have a special committee for the management of their schools. Ever since 1843 the National Society has had some training schools for male and female teachers. In 1844 the Ragged School Union provided for the very poorest of the population. Besides these, there existed for elementary instruction many municipal schools as well as a large number of private adventure schools (see p. 78).

A conviction was gradually spreading that all this was no longer sufficient for the increasing wants. I have already spoken (see p. 91) about the opposition which the government first met with, when it tried to treat the matter as an affair of state. The discussions about it in Parliament were particularly excited, when in the year 1847 a demand of 100,000*l.* was made for elementary schools. In the preceding year the principle of free

trade had gained its victory, and many people could not make up their minds at the time to give up the same principle in the department of public, although only elementary, instruction. The whole nation seemed to be divided into two parties for and against the measure. Macaulay, in 1847, delivered one of his best speeches in Parliament in support of the bill. His principal arguments, which have been constantly repeated in the subsequent discussions on the subject, are derived from the necessity of national security against the consequences of ignorance,* from the right of a child to be instructed, even against the carelessness or the will of its parents. Three interests are to be considered, that of the father, that of the child, and that of the state: the father alone, it is said, has not the right to determine, for every child born in England is heir to the rights of all Britons, but the ability to participate in them can only be acquired by education, and this the state must secure to it. But a long time elapsed before efficient measures were sanctioned by Parliament, even after the inquiries had brought to light the great faults and defects of popular instruction; taxation for school purposes in particular was always rejected. The ordinances issued before 1858 as measures of administration by the Committee of Council were collected, and form the Old Code; in 1861 there appeared a Revised or New Code of regulations, and in 1870 the Revised New Code; but in the same year the above-mentioned Elementary Education Act also was

* "The arguments which show that the Government ought not to leave to private people the task of providing for the national defence, will equally show that the Government ought not to leave to private people the task of providing for national education."

passed. This was at last a victory, chiefly due to the energetic efforts of Mr. W. E. Forster, and by it the elementary schools in England have been placed under state control. It seems to me further of importance to state a few facts to show the manner in which the government proceeds in the matter, because it characterises the condition of English schools in general.

In order to attain its object the government has divided the whole country into school districts, England and Wales into eighty, of which London alone has ten, and Scotland into thirteen; each district has to maintain a certain number of elementary schools in proportion to its population. The business connected with them has to be undertaken by school boards, whose election (both active and passive) belongs to the rate-paying inhabitants of the place without distinction of sex. A school-rate is introduced in the localities belonging to the school board to defray the expenses; besides this the state on certain conditions grants subsidies. No instruction is given gratis; the fees for very poor children are paid by the school boards, and in Scotland by the parochial boards. These boards representing as they do the will of the place after their election, may make school attendance compulsory; they have also to fix the amount of the school-rate. The preparation of teachers for their office takes place in training colleges established for the purpose. The instruction is limited to reading, writing, arithmetic, and biblical knowledge. The examination of the schools and training colleges and to report upon them are the functions of inspectors appointed by the state. I will add a few more observations about all this.

To carry out the plan of organisation here indicated, it

was above all things necessary to have a sufficient number of school-houses, efficient teaching powers, and the co-operation of the school boards of the locality itself for both objects. As the matter is one of great importance, many are ambitious to become members of a school board, and the periodical elections each time cause much agitation. They consist of five or more members, according to the extent of the locality. Clergymen are not excluded, and have their natural influence in the boards. It is an unpaid honorary office; the expenses connected with the election and administration are very considerable. In Glasgow, *e.g.*, the first constitution of the school board cost 10,000*l.* Here at Scarborough the first election in 1871 caused an expenditure of about 134*l.* Until last year 1434 school boards had already been elected in England and Wales.

Many of them proceeded with great zeal, especially in the erection of the new school-houses, for which they were allowed to contract loans. A large number of buildings rose in a short time; they are built in different styles, but are everywhere an ornament to the locality. It was first necessary to have the house in order to be able to regulate, and in case of need to enforce attendance. The amount of space required could in every case be calculated only approximately; but these calculations were in many cases fallacious, and hence in some districts more and larger school-houses were built than were required. Special inspectors, selected from the school attendance committee of the board, control in every district the attendance at school. They may stop every child in the street between the ages of five and thirteen and ask it to what school it belongs. If the child names one that is

not a board school, it may be taken before a magistrate and be examined. If the result is satisfactory the child and the school are no longer interfered with: the school in that case is considered "efficient;" if not, the school is examined (private schools however often refuse to submit to an examination), and if it does not satisfy the demands made upon it within a given time, and also declines to be placed under the board, the school is abolished. In order to avoid this, and also to rival the board schools and, if possible, to excel them, the other schools (they are to a large extent supported by voluntary contributions and are comprised under the name of voluntary schools) take much trouble to produce favourable results, for which purpose they often employ teachers who are better prepared and therefore also require higher salaries. But both the supporters of English independence and the friends of the Church (including those of the National Society) prefer them to the state schools, not a few continue as before to pay not only the school rate, but their contribution for the support of voluntary schools, which they are not obliged to do. It may therefore happen that a new school-house built by the board is almost empty, while a voluntary school in the neighbourhood is quite filled. On the other hand, cases have occurred in which the new school-houses were not sufficient, *e.g.*, when the ragged schools had been prematurely abolished, in consequence of which it was impossible immediately to provide space for thousands of children. The discontent of the poor was all the greater, because in the charity-schools the children had not only received instruction, but in case of need also food and clothing. All such circumstances have prevented the useful institution of

school boards from becoming popular with the ratepayers, on account of the supposed unnecessary expenditure, and with the lower classes, on account of the withdrawal of the above-mentioned charities, as well as on account of the strictness with which regular attendance at school is enforced. This last grievance is severely felt in manufacturing and country districts, where the family has often to calculate upon the earnings of children.

The school boards are empowered to propose bye-laws for their respective districts, but they require the approval of the Committee of Council and the Royal sanction. In this manner, London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other large towns have been enabled to introduce the compulsory system; and according to the Report of the Education Department for the present year, this is already the law for 46 per cent. of the population of England and Wales. Wherever it is introduced, persistent violation of it is punished by fines and eventually even by imprisonment. It will, however, require a long time before the English people become accustomed to such compulsion; and even the most zealous friends of reform have not yet ventured to make it a general law. Even Milton has expressed himself in favour of compulsory education.

What is most offensive to many in the Act of 1870 is its independence of the Church. It limits the duty of parents regarding the instruction of their children in the same manner as is now done again by the law of 1876; it determines that "it shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic," and nothing else; school inspectors are not required at all to take account of the religious instruction. The Act of

1876 touches upon religious instruction only negatively in these words: "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." This clause has been differently conceived and interpreted. It may mean that the school, though excluding sectarian instruction, should yet give instruction in the Bible, but also that it should be left to the school either to give such instruction or not according to its discretion. Some understand the clause to mean that by it not only the Apostles' Creed, but also the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments are excluded, a circumstance with which the government has been repeatedly reproached in Parliament; others regard these three parts of the catechism as admissible and act accordingly, because, they say, all Christian denominations are agreed upon them. In consequence of this uncertainty the schools, in regard to religion, act in very different ways.

The voluntary schools, recognised as efficient, enjoy greater liberty in this respect, although in case of need they also receive state support. I have visited such a school at Stratford in Essex; it contained, in four classes, about five hundred children, boys and girls, and, thanks to the energy of the principal teacher, was in excellent order and activity. It was an educational pleasure to see how he understood the art of governing the masses and keeping up the attention of every child, and how the boys singing pretty songs marched into and out of the school. From one point in the city I had seen seven churches of seven different denominations, and I accordingly presumed that many children would be excluded from the religious instruction of the school, which

is given by teachers belonging to the English Church. When I inquired about this I learned that such was by no means the case; the school is so dear to all, that they gladly allow their children to take part in it and even to learn the catechism. The religious difficulty therefore is here entirely out of the question; in other places however the difficulty is greater if the personal character of the teacher and of the local clergyman are less tolerant.

In order to evade this difficulty, many deem it necessary to exclude from the school all religious instruction, and even the reading of the Bible. An association called the Birmingham League makes the greatest efforts to effect this. Its principles are acknowledged by many, not indeed from religious indifference, but by men of a decidedly religious character; they do so on the principle that the general elementary school as such ought to be a national school, and that in such a school nothing ought to be taught upon which the nation is not agreed, consequently, no religion. Acknowledging the necessity of a religious education of the young, they would leave it entirely to the Sunday Schools and to the various religious communities, and also allow the school-rooms to be used for the separate religious instruction at times when they are not wanted for general school purposes. When I remarked that such a purely secular education did not realise the idea of an elementary school and of the education of the young in general, that the isolated religious instruction was thus unconnected with any other, and that in many cases it would not be attended, as it is not like others obligatory, the advocates of the League could not but agree with me, but they, nevertheless, considered the absolute separation of the school from the Church as the only means by which the

school would be enabled to carry on its work in peace and unity.

Many supporters of the same view also advocate the absolute necessity of carrying out the compulsory system, and of the state undertaking the entire management of the elementary schools. Others wish to exclude religious instruction from state supported schools, because they are opposed to the episcopal state Church whose intrusion into the schools they dread. These views have lately been expressed by a Manchester Nonconformist Conference and by the Kent Congregational Association.* In order to facilitate matters for children who, according to the wishes of their parents, do not take part in what the school offers as religious instruction, it has been arranged that in board schools religious lessons should always be placed at the beginning or the end of the regular school-hours. The opponents of state schools do not cease drawing the attention of the people to the dangers involved in the abandonment of the old English custom, according to which education and religion have always been closely united. Such a one who had publicly spoken of a "Godless education" in board schools, recently received as a reply from the Chairman of the London School Board the remark that out of one hundred and twenty-six thousand school children only one hundred and twenty-four had excluded themselves from biblical instruction, and that too not because parents availed themselves of the conscience clause of the law, but for other more external

* "That no national system of education should be maintained except one which provides for united secular instruction, and leaves religious instruction to educational agencies which are independent of state support."

reasons. Another inquiry of the government has shown that last year eighty-three per cent. of the school boards in England and Wales had adopted the system of the British and Foreign Society, according to which the Bible in schools is either merely read, or read and expounded. The so-called London compromise, which further allows prayers to be learned and hymns to be sung, aims pretty much at the same thing.

I must here supplement an earlier statement (see p. 48) about the large expenditure for elementary instruction, by mentioning the different sources from which the means are derived. Last year, England, Scotland, and Ireland received altogether:

From the public funds . .	£2,228,470
From voluntary contributions .	897,858
From school fees . . .	1,198,098
From endowments . . .	118,545
From the school rate . .	846,065
Total . .	£5,289,036

For the present year only the state grant can be mentioned, which amounts—

For England to . . .	£1,707,055
For Scotland . . .	438,227
For Ireland	645,949
Total . .	£2,791,231

Dissatisfaction with the school rate is often expressed,

especially as its screw is going deeper and deeper; in London it amounts this year already to four and a half per cent. on the value of a house or dwelling. Ever since the establishment of this rate the voluntary contributions have been decreasing; for voluntary schools were established partly for the purpose of having some school at all events, and partly of having one of a special ecclesiastical character. The former reason is now removed by the board schools, to which people are obliged to contribute; hence it is quite natural that the supply of voluntary contributions has everywhere diminished, so that on the whole the number of voluntary schools decreases from year to year.

Parliament also considered it expedient everywhere to exact school fees; it was above all things desired to promote more regular and more diligent attendance, and experience showed that to give instruction gratis does not produce such a result. According to the circumstances of the parents, from one penny to nine pence per week may be demanded. The fact that the state gives such large grants as those mentioned above for elementary instruction, is censured by those who are of opinion that parents are as much bound to have the children whom they bring into the world instructed, as to provide them with food and clothing; they maintain that the state ought to subsidise only the very poorest, as is the case in modern Greece, where university instruction is gratuitous, but not the elementary instruction. In England the government believes that for the present it cannot attain its objects without offering rewards for a diligent attendance and zeal in learning. Its grants are given in proportion to the "attendance and proficiency of the scholars, the qualifications of the teachers and the state of the schools."

The grants are determined by the results of the examinations held by the inspectors of schools, and for these examinations there are six different standards. The first demands only the simplest elements in reading, writing, and arithmetic; the second enters a little upon the subjects of grammar, geography, and history; and in these six subjects the requirements gradually rise up to the sixth standard. Rewards in money are given for the best performances, and for the most regular attendance at school. This is what is called "payment by results," which was already known in the New Code of 1861. The money thus gained goes to the funds of the Board; the London School Board quite recently had already obtained the sum of 6,085*l.*

Now what about the teachers? Training colleges with schools for practice, mostly boarding schools, have been established for their training; their arrangements are left to the different religious communities; but the state grants ample subsidies. Last year the training colleges of the English Church had 1787 pupils; the expenses for each of them are calculated at 160*l.* per annum. The British and Foreign Society had 243 pupils in their training colleges. In the first instance, those aspiring to the office of teacher are employed as pupil teachers (in Scotland they are sometimes called apprentice teachers), sometimes, when no more than thirteen years old, *e.g.*, as superintendents of infant schools: at the age of eighteen, after having passed an examination, they may be admitted into a training college, and later on, after a second examination and after passing through a period of probation, they may be appointed as teachers. They remain generally two years in a training college. In the final

examination, certificates of a lower or higher degree may be obtained. Similar institutions have been founded for training female teachers.

The original intention was to grant state support only to schools with trained teachers. But as a sufficient number of these did not exist it was found necessary to admit others also who, without the preparation of a training college, had obtained a certificate of qualification, *i.e.*, certificated teachers. As notwithstanding this there was still a want of teachers, a third class of male and female teachers was recognised who were neither trained nor certificated; they first consisted of those who were not below thirty-five years of age, had been in school practice for ten years, and of whose pupils at least twenty had proved by an examination to have been tolerably well instructed; in 1874 these figures were reduced to thirty years and fifteen pupils, and in 1876 even to twenty-five years and five pupils, the period of school practice being of course likewise shorter than had at first been demanded. This continued reduction is dangerous, because it creates teachers who can only claim small salaries, and are, therefore, in many schools preferred to abler teachers. A landed proprietor in the neighbourhood of Manchester has recently placed at the disposal of the school board there one hundred scholarships of 25*l.* each, to be enjoyed for three years by such pupils of elementary schools as show inclination and talent for the office of teacher.

The regular salaries of teachers are in some cases increased by the payment by results, but this depends upon the reports of the school inspectors about the attendance, upon the results of their examinations, and the general

condition of the school. Pensions, though to a very limited extent, are in certain circumstances granted to teachers in elementary schools and training colleges.

The Education Act for Scotland of 1872 is essentially the same as that for England of 1870. In England the principal task of school boards is to promote "attendance;" in Scotland, to procure "appliance and accommodation," because, in general, children there are not wanting in eagerness to learn. The number of board schools in Scotland is much smaller than that of the parochial and Church schools. The school fees sometimes vary according to the subjects taken by the pupils; hence the school board of a Scotch town recently made known that the fee for instruction in reading was 10*d.* per month; for reading, writing, and arithmetic, 1*s.*, and if grammar and geography were added, 1*s.* 3*d.*; if Latin, French, mathematics, and drawing were desired, 1*s.* 8*d.* Such going beyond the limits of elementary schools is allowed everywhere, but has nowhere been more frequent than in Scotland (comp. p. 59); at present, however, it is beginning to be less common. The government attaches the greatest importance—and it cannot do otherwise—to good and successful elementary instruction, for which reason many teachers confine themselves to it, in order to receive for themselves and for their schools greater rewards from the public funds. It is a subject of complaint with patriotic Scotchmen, even in their official reports, that in this way they gradually lose "a characteristic and admirable feature of the old parochial education of Scotland, that the highest instruction was generally within the reach of the poorest child who was capable of deriving benefit from it."

The educational question has unmistakably, and not to its advantage, been drawn more and more into the dispute of political parties; the long parliamentary debates upon it during the present session (1876) may be regarded as a political campaign; but in what has been done we can at the same time perceive a thoughtful return from the hasty proceedings of the first excitement. It is for this reason that Mr. W. E. Forster, the author of the Act of 1870, has supported the present ministry, to which he does not belong, in carrying the Act of 1876, because the principle of his own law is maintained. It has not been determined to force increased attendance by the general introduction of the compulsory system; it remains permissive, and is not imperative, *i.e.*, the school boards are at liberty to apply it or not, as they think proper. Wherever the compulsory system has not been established, the object is now to be attained in an indirect manner, viz., by forbidding to admit children before their tenth year to work, *e.g.*, in factories. After the tenth, and up to the fourteenth year, it is allowed only on proof being given that the child possesses a certain measure of school knowledge, such as can be acquired during that period by attending the school for half the day. This implies a mitigation of direct compulsory attendance, something like what we see in some of the Eastern States of America, as in Massachusets and Connecticut, where the exercise of the right of voting is dependent upon the ability to read and write.

Another mitigation in the new law concerns the school boards. I have before hinted at the reasons why they are opposed by many. Now the Act of 1876 admits that boards may be dissolved, provided the district contains

no school for them, and elementary education is otherwise sufficiently provided. The Act further ordains that in smaller towns and country districts, where it is not as easy as in large towns to establish boards with their functions and their whole order of business, town councils, local authorities, and the guardians shall be allowed to take their place, and on the whole exercise the same powers. I pass over other new regulations, which are of less importance to my object. The Act throughout shows a relaxation of severity; in religious matters also, without expressing it, it allows greater freedom, and its enactments are not to be enforced at once, but gradually until the year 1881. Time is thus gained for testing it, for it certainly is again no more than an experiment.*

The success hitherto attained in the legislation about elementary schools is in several respects satisfactory, for on the whole much more and much better instruction is given than before. Although much still remains to be done, and although, *e.g.*, in London with its population of nearly four millions it has been impossible to prevent many children growing up without school instruction and wandering about as Arabs and wastrels, still the Duke of Richmond in his statistical communications to Parliament was able to point to the fact that since 1870 the number of children at school had been increased by hundreds of thousands. The moral condition of the lower classes, also, already shows favourable results.

The more the schools get into a quiet course, and the more a fixed order gains consistency in them, the more it

* "We have been advancing of late sufficiently fast in the work of education to be able to afford a little breathing time for a new experiment."

will be possible and necessary to revise the whole system of administration and to change some arrangements and appliances which were at first perhaps indispensable. It is at present an exceedingly complex machinery with a great deal of bureaucratic writing and little direct personal influence. It could not but appear strange to me that the services of a man like Matthew Arnold as Inspector of Schools should be employed for hours in a Wesleyan training college, where I saw him superintending about sixty pupil teachers writing out their tasks, which he himself had not set for them; with us any teacher would be sufficient for such a function. I have not found that the inspectors of schools in London meet in conferences as a council on technical matters; they have only to send in their written reports.

The existing legal ordinances in my opinion require simplification and some of them also greater precision, as *e.g.*, in what is said in section 14 of the Act of 1870 about religious instruction; the Act further speaks of efficient schools, but does not state how they are to be recognised as such, nor is it said as to who is competent to judge of the efficiency of a school, &c.

But the greatest obstacle to a healthy development of the system of elementary schools lies in the part which money plays in them. The payment by results is a stimulus for teachers; but the impulse comes from without and not from the thing itself. A real organisation, that is, a form which contains in itself the living law of its growth, cannot possibly be developed in such circumstances. When teachers—complaints also are made of it in official reports—allow themselves to be guided in their actions, *e.g.*, in the choice and treatment of subjects that go beyond

the mere elements solely by the prospect of as much gain as possible,—"the educational code guides the teachers' course entirely by money consideration"—and when it can be publicly said that money has become the sole test of success in elementary school-teaching, then surely something is still rotten in this body and requires a healing hand.

LETTER XVII.

Brief Retrospect—School Legislation in Prussia and in England—Public Opinion—Consideration as to what is to be done at present for the Higher Schools in England—Conclusion.

Leytonstone.

BEFORE I again leave England I will close my epistolary communications in a place which is specially dear to me on account of the friends with whom I am staying.

When I put together the features which characterise the present affairs of English schools, I am struck above all things by the lively, earnest and active interest with which the government and the people have made the education of the young the object of their care. Here we see the determined will to discover and carry out what is right and what is best, and the unmistakable desire to harmonise the just claims of the community and of the individual in a manner beneficial to both. These are the problems the solution of which engages the attention of all. Everything still bears the marks of a state of transition; everywhere the unrest of reforming is observable. The demand of the age to enlarge the course of instruction in the higher schools could be resisted all the less,

as it had to be confessed that it was impossible any longer to restore the old power of attraction to the exclusive or predominant occupation with the ancient languages; the gain of the enlargement, however, has become a loss, inasmuch as the course of instruction has lost its former simplicity and has not yet attained an inner unity. The new system of examinations is particularly calculated to render this difficult. Both teachers and pupils make great efforts to satisfy them; both work with greater exertion than before, but without the proper satisfaction and pleasure in their work. Yet the examinations produce this good effect, that arbitrary proceedings have been checked, and that a little more agreement has been introduced into the action of schools of the same category. When I look at what is still wanting and at the institutions intermediate between the elementary schools and the university, the arrangements for instruction and their results, so far as I have become acquainted with them, I am inclined to regard the following as the chief desiderata: greater solidity in the elementary foundations; a stricter separation of the different kinds of schools; more definite aims for the instruction in the several classes and in the institutions themselves; the abandonment of the now prevailing system of allowing pupils to choose their own subjects, in favour of the system of classes; and institutions preparing teachers for their functions.

I have no doubt that in this respect the majority of English teachers in the higher institutions will agree with me. It would be more difficult to come to an agreement as to the manner in which this object can best be attained in England. I do not consider it right to leave things in

the condition in which they now are to their further free development, and I am convinced that a decisive action on the part of the legislature is required. We in Prussia are in a very different position in this respect. Our school legislation has to deal with problems which are totally different from those of England: with us it must regulate, in England it must constitute. I do not mean to say that our work is easier, but rather the reverse.

It is indeed not unnatural that the Prussian public, after so many vain attempts to carry an educational bill, have become impatient. But how much do their vain attempts warn us to be cautious, and how do they reveal the great difficulties that are still to be overcome! They are to be found in the nature of things, in the difference—which also includes the schools—of the historical development of the numerous provinces out of which Prussia has gradually been formed, and in the connection of the schools with other relations of the state. This last point weighs particularly heavily. For not only the value of school certificates in public life, and the whole system of privileges, but also the internal constitution of the schools, the system of classes and the regulations about examinations, are connected with the manner in which the business of instruction is interwoven with the Prussian political system of administration. Normal plans of instruction have existed in Prussia only during the last decades. Formerly the head-masters had the double task of drawing up the plan of instruction and of seeing it carried into effect; at present so far as instruction is concerned they have only the latter task. In order to attain its own as well as the general objects of education, the state, seeing the frequent mistakes that have been

made, found itself obliged to limit the self-determining power of the schools, and to draw up the outlines of an agreement among them. These normal plans are not arbitrary schemes, but constructed according to the idea of the different kinds of schools, and according to the claims which public life makes upon the schools. To prevent inconveniences arising was and is impossible. I will only mention the often lamented overburdening the pupils, the removal of which is expected from the legislature.

The simplification of the course of instruction will always be one of the conditions of discovering a remedy for this; but in endeavouring to effect this not only the claims made upon the school from without demand consideration, but the conditions of the system of classes also have to be borne in mind. Legislation can do little in this matter unless it were to abolish the existing order of the Prussian school system altogether; but by fixing the limits of the number of pupils in the schools and in the several classes, it may greatly facilitate to the head-masters and their colleagues the task of not unduly exerting the strength of the young. For the task is pre-eminently one of internal pedagogy, and must be treated individually, and consequently not according to legal enactments. General measures without due regard to circumstances might injure the blessing of work in the school. A proper pedagogy has to secure this blessing as well as to prevent harshness and abuse into which the laborious spirit of the Germans has always strayed in the education of youth as well as in other things. In Hugo von Trimberg's *Renner* we read that a pupil must be pale, and two centuries later Fischart, in his treaties on

Plutarch's essay on the education of children, complains that parents overburden their sons with intolerable work, so that their minds decay like seared leaves, become indolent, and in the end altogether cease receiving and comprehending their lessons with a quiet mind, because the pleasure in them is drowned by excessive work. This then is an evil against which, as I have already said, a remedy is to be expected much less from the legislature than from pedagogy.

Everything depends upon a clear view as to what the law can do, and what it cannot do, and what accordingly it ought to do, and ought not to do. The word of the Scriptures that no law can give life applies here also; it does not reach the inner life and vital power of the school; its real function and power here also is the right of protecting and of stimulating to do one's duty. It has, therefore, to consider what rights and duties belong, not only to all those persons taking part in the school, but also to the institutions or schools themselves; for without such rights and duties they cannot fulfil their tasks. Not to make mistakes in the enactments referring to this requires as much insight into the nature of the thing as practical understanding and historical tact, a combination of requirements which is rare among us, if we may judge from recent works written with a view to reform the schools and to assist the legislature: how many Germans have still something of the idealist who builds his perfect castle in the air, but does not know how to settle down on the firm ground of given circumstances!

Although in the above-mentioned sense the legislature has to do with the external and internal order of the

school, still it must confine itself to general principles as leading rules, and refrain from entering much into detail. We have seen in Belgium, Hungary, and also in Bavaria, how the overlooking of this maxim has become the cause of repeated experiments, has kept the schools in a state of perpetual unrest and uncertainty, and has weakened the confidence in legislative authority. In order to make the right selection and keep within the proper limits, it is requisite to possess a clear knowledge, matured by long observation, of what is necessary and possible; a law must contain nothing that is not supported by the full guarantee of experience and is not sure of success. Nothing, therefore, must be fixed by law which from its very nature must remain in the living flow of development, and admits of change according to circumstances. In matters of instruction there are very many things of this kind, because a school is not a ready-made, complete thing, but has an inner living growth, and cannot be isolated, but stands in close relation to, and partially in interaction with the social life in the state, the community, the Church, and the family; all these things are factors of national education in the wider sense of the word, and legislation has to take them all into account.

Now the difference between England and Prussia, as far I can see, consists in the fact that for most of these relations there exists among us already a fixed order and a comprehensive school organisation, whence all that is required is only a legal expression, so far as this is at all compatible with the nature and destination of the school, and so far as the latter must not be left to its own further development according to internal laws, under the

influence of the national spirit of Germany. In England, on the other hand, this order has still to be created, and the outlines of an organisation have still to be drawn. England's advantage lies in this, that it is less hindered than we are by legal arrangements already existing, and can thus confine itself to what is most simple and most needed. This is also rendered necessary on account of the peculiar views of the English people derived from tradition and the habit of centuries, that the order of their public life is less based upon general laws than upon actual and real circumstances and special rights. But the progress from habit to law and the action of correcting the former by the latter has already commenced; in the department of the higher schools it still proceeds with that caution which is the result of respect for the right of what exists. Hitherto the discussions about elementary schools have shown that the right relation and the limit between the legislature and the rights of the executive administration have not yet been discovered. Parliament has hitherto been occupied a great deal too much with the detail of school questions, which ought to be left to the arrangements of the government or to local administration. The consequences of such a proceeding have not failed to show themselves. Legislation has not yet arrived at the final state and rest which the school requires for its internal consolidation: on the contrary, not a few ordinances clearly contain within them the germs of fresh changes that have to be discussed again by the representatives of the people.

The government, as far as I know, does not at present intend to prepare a legal regulation of the whole domain

that lies between the elementary schools and the universities, but having taken the first step towards it, by its thorough inquiries it will sooner or later be forced to it by public opinion. Legislation in England is dependent upon public opinion in a different and more definite manner than it is in Germany. It may indeed be of a very transient nature, a mere ephemeral opinion of the multitude, changing according to the force of impressions made and guided by leading individuals; but in most cases it is something stronger and more independent, the concentrated expression of the spirit and will, which at any given time pervades the whole nation. This kind of public opinion in England overrides many dissensions and differences, *e.g.*, those of the different Churches, and unites the people into one body, the strength and importance of which for the commonwealth the guiding statesmen dare not neglect. It is in many cases a watchful, impartial, and strict guardian of order and law. It is the highest wisdom of the English government to recognise, to estimate, and to make use of the direction of this incalculable power of English life, and to avoid conflicts between it and the life of the state, which is still distinct from it.

It has often appeared to me, as if with us, the demand for a law about instruction had with many men no other reason than that founded upon the constitution of 1850, which promises such a law, and the wish that this gap in the long series of our laws should be filled up at last. Such an abstract demand would have little force with Englishmen, and contribute little towards forming a public opinion on the matter. But the feeling and recognition of an actual want act with them all the

more powerfully; they arise, grow imperceptibly, and gradually assume the form of demands with which the government of the country must come to an understanding. If I am not misled by my own views, which I have found corroborated by isolated expressions of others, it will not be long before public opinion will express itself in favour of extending the legislation commenced with elementary education to the domain of the higher schools. Things cannot possibly remain where they now are; they must go onwards. As to the how I cannot presume to say.

But if I look at the matter quite objectively as the subject of a study in state pedagogy—and as such it is in existing circumstances of the highest interest—I might be tempted to sketch a plan which would have for its starting point the creation of a separate school authority. The central place would be a ministry of public instruction in London, assisted by a standing council of qualified, experienced, and intelligent men.* Of such there is no lack in the country, they may be found in schools, universities, and in other official or independent positions. The deliberations with them and the rich materials brought to light and collected by the Inquiry Commissioners would furnish the outlines of an organisation of the higher schools, the main object of which ought to be the classification of the schools and the establishment of provincial authorities of administration. These outlines

* Others also have expressed "that the creation of a special ministry dealing with science and with education is a necessity of the public service. In connection with, and supplementary to this ministry, there should be a permanent scientific council, whose advice on all points of science the ministry might obtain."

alone would require the sanction of Parliament, all the rest would be matters of administration. The ministry in conjunction with the technical provincial authorities strengthened in their first deliberations by representatives of all the schools concerned would have to pass resolutions upon the following subjects:—

The fixing of the limits of instruction in the different kinds of schools and in the several subjects of instruction, but so as to demand only a minimum, and in so elastic a manner as to leave free space for peculiar talents and inclinations of the pupils;

Limitation of the system of allowing pupils to select their own subjects, and the gradual introduction of the system of classes;

Leaving examinations conducted by the teachers themselves, after abolishing the present method of examination;

The conditions to be made regarding the endowment, the school-house, the providing it with all the necessaries for teaching, so as to entitle it to registration and to hold leaving examinations;

Reform of the present system of prizes and rewards;

The granting of school and university scholarships not according to competitive examinations but according to the judgment of the staff of teachers; and

Institutions preparing men for the office of teacher, establishment of special commissions subordinate to the provincial school authorities, for examining teachers and for granting them certificates.

All the rest, the ways and aims, disciplinary arrangements, etc., would have to be left perfectly free to the several institutions. Private schools would be at liberty to constitute themselves according to the pleasure of

their proprietors. But every head of such a school ought to be made to furnish some proof of his capacity.

I think no thoughtful and unbiassed judge could see in a school arrangement of this kind any unbearable compulsion, anything injurious to the cause, or any kind of unworthy dependence. It does not touch the property of any existing institutions, nor does it threaten any of their real excellences, nor any of their peculiarities which deserve to be retained. I am convinced that the numerous difficulties with which the carrying out of such a scheme would have to deal in England, would not be insuperable, and I am equally sure that it would soon be felt to be a blessing. The recognition of the schools themselves by a public and competent authority would secure to them respect with the public, and confer a value upon their certificates; in regard to the certificates of qualification for teachers the effect would be the same.

All these remarks however are intended to be and can be nothing more than the frank opinions of a man who has the advantage of being well acquainted with the working of German schools and to some extent also with those of England, and who desires to state candidly what, in his opinion, the schools of England at present stand in need of. He does so from the stand-point of his experience and knowledge of German schools, so far as the existing arrangements in his own country appear to him as generally adapted to their purposes. They are the conclusions to which he has been naturally led, by what he has observed in the schools of England.

I part from the country and from the subject, which, during my long occupation with it, has become to me more and more important, with the wish and the hope

that I may live to see the suggested reforms carried out, because they unite liberty with subordination under a respected authority. Englishmen have at all times regarded these two principles less as opposites than any other nation, and they have always known how to combine them both in their public and their private life.

APPENDIX.

I.—EXAMPLES OF SCHOOL FEES, &c.

	£	s.	d.
City of London School per annum	10	10	0
London University College School	24	0	0
King's College School, below 16 years	24	0	0
„ „ above 16 years	30	0	0

(For this the pupils have the loan of school books and stationery.)

Stationers' School, London, 7*l.* (including stationery).

Dulwich College, *Lower School.*	£	s.	d.
Below 14 years	4	0	0
Above 14 years	8	0	0
Dulwich College, *Upper School.*			
Below 13 years	15	0	0
Above 13 years	18	0	0
Spring Grove	25	4	0
Clifton College	25	0	0
Giggleswick School	12	0	0
Manchester Grammar School	12	12	0

Edinburgh High School, from 12*l.* to 15*l.*, rising with the classes.
Edinburgh Academy, from 13*l.* to 19*l.*, rising with the classes.

Glasgow Hutcheson Grammar School.
Elementary Department 1*l.* to 2*l.*, rising with the classes.
Secondary Department, 2*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.*

The fees are the same in Hutcheson's girls' school.

In the schools of the Society for the education of girls those under 10 years pay 9*l.* 9*s.*, those between 10 and 13 years 12*l.* 12*s.*, and those above 13 years pay 15*l.* 15*s.* per annum.

The board in the great boarding-schools is at Rugby about 120*l.*; at Harrow in the house of the head-master about 112*l.*; at Wellington

College 110*l.*; in the Charter-house about 110*l.*; at Malvern College, below 14 years 80*l.*, above 14 years 90*l.*; at Spring Grove from 70*l.* to 90*l.*; in Clifton College, under 13 years 60*l.*, above 13 years 72*l.*; Salisbury School from 40 to 60 guineas; in Trinity College, Eastbourne, from 40 to 70 guineas; in Leamington New College, below 14 years 60*l.*, above 14 years 70*l.*; in Lancing, 62 guineas; at Hurstpierpoint, 33 guineas; at Ardingly, 16 guineas; in Bloxham All Saints School, 32 guineas; in Giggleswick School, below 13 years 57*l.*, above 13 years 72*l.*; in Hereford Cathedral School, from 60*l.* to 70*l.*; in Fettes College, Edinburgh, 100*l.*; in Morison's Academy, Crieff, below 10 years 45*l.*, between 10 and 13 years 50*l.*, above 13 years 55*l.* In the Moravian Institution at Ockbrook, near Derby, below 12 years 36 guineas, above that age, 40 guineas.

In the boarding houses of the Masters in many of these schools the expenses are generally much higher, amounting in some to 200*l.* To the above-mentioned sums there must be added several extras, as *e.g.*, entrance fee (which in some cases is as high as twelve guineas), for seat in church, medical attendances, laundry, &c. Sometimes not only instruction in music, but also modern languages, drawing, gymnastics, fencing, military drill, use of the laboratory, workshops, &c., have to be paid for separately as extras. These numerous extras, especially in girls' boarding-schools, sometimes double the expenses mentioned in advertisements, which are occasionally as low as 20*l.* or even 18*l.* In some boarding-schools, sons of clergymen pay less than those of laymen; Indian boys, and all those who remain in institutions during holiday-time, everywhere pay considerably more.

II.—EXTRACTS FROM THE SCHEME OF THE SCHOOL FOUNDATION AT WAKEFIELD.

1. The object of the *Foundation* or *Trust* hereby established shall be mainly to promote the advancement of a liberal and practical education for boys and girls by means of schools in Wakefield as follows: A *grammar* school for boys; a *technical* or *trade* school for boys; a school for girls; with exhibitions and other things conducive or incidental to the objects of such schools.

7. From the date of this scheme all rights and powers reserved or belonging to, or claimed by, any body or person, other than Her Majesty, as visitor of any of these foundations, shall be transferred to Her Majesty, and all such rights and powers, and also any like rights

and powers vested in Her Majesty on the second day of August, 1869, shall be exercised only through and by the Charity Commissioners.

9. The *Governing body*, hereinafter called the *governors*, shall ultimately, when completely formed and full, except as hereinafter provided, consist of eighteen persons, of whom two shall be *ex officio* governors, eight *representative*, and eight *co-optative*.

10. The *ex officio* governors shall be the Mayor of Wakefield and the chairman of the School Board for Wakefield, for the time being, if they will respectively undertake to act in the trusts of this scheme.

11. The representative governors shall be elected five by the town council of Wakefield, and three by the School Board for Wakefield.

12. The co-optative governors shall, except as hereinafter provided, be appointed by the governors; but no such appointment shall be valid until it has been approved by the said Commissioners, and their approval certified under their official seal.

13. The representative governors, except as hereinafter provided, shall be appointed to office for the term of five years. The co-optative governors, except as hereinafter provided, shall be appointed to office for the term of seven years. Any governor may be re-appointed.

18. Religious opinions or attendance, or non-attendance at any particular form of religious worship, shall not in any way affect the qualification of any person for being a governor under this scheme. Women may be governors. No teacher of any of the schools shall be a governor.

20. The governors shall hold meetings in some convenient place in Wakefield, or elsewhere, as often as may be found necessary for the management of the trust, and at least two ordinary meetings in each year, on some convenient days to be appointed by themselves, and after such notice as they shall think fit to prescribe.

30. The governors shall cause sufficient abstracts of the amounts to be published annually in two local newspapers. Such abstracts may be in the form appended to this scheme, unless any form is prescribed by the Charity Commissioners, in which case the form so prescribed shall be followed.

33. The governors may from time to time, when and as favourable opportunity offers, if the Charity Commissioners deem it to be for the permanent benefit of the trust, and with their sanction sell such real estates of the trust as are not required to be used for the objects of this scheme, and shall, with the like sanction, invest the proceeds in the names of the official trustees of charitable funds in such mode as the Court of Chancery, in exercise of its statutory powers, or as any Act of Parliament may authorise for the investment of trust funds in general.

37. As soon as conveniently may be after the date of this scheme, the governors shall provide on land secured to the trust, and according

to plans and estimates approved by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, or after their powers have ceased by the Charity Commissioners, such additional buildings as may be required for the purposes of the said schools, arranged so as to admit of convenient extension. The buildings for the trade school shall be suitable for not less than one hundred day scholars, with a residence for the head-master. The buildings for the girls' school shall be suitable for not less than one hundred scholars, with a residence for the head-mistress; and, if the governors of the girls' school hereinafter mentioned think fit, accommodation for boarders.

38. For the purposes of such respective sites and buildings, the governors may spend such sums, to be raised out of the capital funds or property of the trust in such manner as the Charity Commissioners may direct.

39. The parent or guardian of, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of, any day scholar at any school under this scheme may claim, by notice in writing addressed to the principal teacher, the exemptions of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, and such scholar shall be exempted accordingly; and a scholar shall not by reason of any exemption from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, be deprived of any advantage or emolument in any school under this scheme or out of this trust to which he or she would otherwise have been entitled. If any teacher in the course of other lessons at which any such scholar is in accordance with the ordinary rules of the school present teaches systematically and persistently any particular religious doctrine, from the teaching of which any exemption has been claimed, as in this clause before provided, the governing body of the school shall, on complaint made in writing to them by the parent, guardian, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of such scholar, hear the complaint, and inquire into the circumstances, and, if the complaint is judged to be reasonable, make all proper provisions for remedying the matter complained of.

40. No person shall be disqualified for being a master in any school under this scheme by reason only of his not being, or not intending to be in holy orders.

45. The *grammar school* shall be a day and boarding-school, consisting of a senior and a junior department under one head-master.

46. The head-master shall be a member of the Church of England, and a graduate of some university within the British empire.

47. The head-master shall be appointed by the governors. In order to obtain the best candidates, they shall, for a sufficient time before

making any appointment, give public notice of the vacancy, and invite competitions by advertisements in newspapers, or by such other methods as they may judge best calculated to secure the object.

48. The governors may dismiss the head-master without assigning cause, after six calendar months' written notice, given to him in pursuance of a resolution passed at two consecutive meetings held at an interval of at least fourteen days, and duly convened for that express purpose, such resolution being affirmed at each meeting by not less than two-thirds of the governors present.

50. Every head-master previously to entering into office shall be required to sign a declaration, to be entered in the minute book of the governors in the following form: "I declare that I will always, to the best of my ability, discharge the duties of head-master of the Wakefield Grammar School during my tenure of the office, and that if I am removed by the governors, according to the constitution of the said school, I will acquiesce in such removal, and will thereupon relinquish all claim to the mastership and its emoluments, and will deliver up to the governors, or as they direct, possession of all their property then in my possession or occupation."

52. The head-master shall give his personal attention to the duties of the school, and during the tenure of office he shall not accept or hold any benefice having the cure of souls, or any office or appointment which, in the opinion of the governors, may interfere with the proper performance of his duties as head-master.

53. Neither the head-master nor any assistant-master shall receive or demand from any boy in the school, or from any person whomsoever on behalf of any such boy, any gratuity, fee, or payment, except such payments as are prescribed or authorised by this scheme.

54. Within the limits fixed by this scheme, the governors shall prescribe the general subjects of instruction, the relative prominence and value to be assigned to each group of subjects, the division of the year into term and vacation, the payments of the day scholars, the number and the payments of the boarders, and the number of holidays to be given in term. They shall take general supervision of the sanitary condition of the school buildings and arrangements. They shall determine what number of assistant-masters shall be employed. They shall every year assign the amount which they think proper to be paid out of the income of the trust for the purpose of maintaining assistant-masters, and of maintaining a proper plant or apparatus for carrying on the instructions given in the school.

55. Before making or altering any regulations, under the last preceding clause, the governors shall consult the head-master in such a manner as to give him full opportunity for the expression of his views.

56. Subject to the rules prescribed by or under the authority of this scheme, the head-master shall have under his control the choice of books, the methods of teaching, the arrangement of classes, and school hours, and generally the whole internal organization, management, and discipline of the school; provided that if he expels a boy from the school, he shall forthwith make a full report in writing of the case to the governors.

57. The head-master, subject as hereinafter provided, shall have the sole power of appointing, and, subject to appeal to the governors, whose decision on such appeal shall be final, of dismissing all assistant-masters, and shall determine, subject to the approval of the governors, in what proportions the sum assigned by the governors for the maintenance of assistant-masters, and of plant or apparatus, shall be divided among the various persons and objects for the aggregate of which it is assigned. And the governors shall pay the same accordingly, either through the hands of the head-master or directly, as they think best. The appointment or dismissal of the senior assistant-master in the junior department shall not be valid until it has been confirmed by the governors.

59. The head-master shall receive a fixed stipend of 200*l.* a year. He shall also receive head-money, calculated on such a scale, uniform or graduated, as may be determined by the governors, being at the rate of not less than 2*l.*, nor more than 4*l.* a year for each boy in the junior department, and not less than 4*l.* nor more than 8*l.* a year for each boy in the senior department. The payments of stipend and head-money shall be made terminally or quarterly as the governors think fit.

60. The governors shall make such regulations as they think right for the reception of boarders either in the house of any master upon terms sufficiently profitable to him, or upon the system generally known as the hostel system, under which the pecuniary and domestic arrangements of the boarding house are regulated by persons directly accountable to the governors, and the profit, if there is any, accrues to the credit of the trust, or, if they think it best, they may combine both systems.

61. All boys, except as hereinafter provided, shall pay such entrance and tuition fees as the governors shall fix from time to time, provided that no such entrance fee shall be more than ten shillings in the junior or more than 1*l.* in the senior department, and that no such tuition fee shall be less than 5*l.*, or more than 10*l.* a year in the junior, or less than 10*l.* or more than 20*l.* a year in the senior department. No difference in respect of such fees shall be made between any scholars on account of place of birth or residence, or of being or not being boarders. The payment for a boarder apart from tuition fees shall

not exceed the rate of 60*l.* a year. No extras of any kind shall be allowed without the sanction of the governors, and written consent of the scholar concerned.

63. No boy shall be admitted into the junior department unless he has attained the age of eight years, and no boy shall remain in that department beyond the end of the term in which he attains the age of fifteen years.

64. No boy shall be admitted into the senior department unless he has attained the age of twelve years, and, except with the permission of the head-master, no boy shall be allowed to remain in that department beyond the end of the term in which he attains the age of nineteen years. And the head-master shall make regulations for the withdrawal of boys from either department of the school, in cases where from idleness or incapacity to profit by the instruction given they have fallen materially below the standard of position and attainment proper for their age.

65. Subject to the provisions established by or under the authority of this scheme, the school and all advantages of the school shall be open to all boys who are of good character and of sufficient health, and who are residing at home with their parents, guardians, or next friends, or in some boarding-home established under the sanction of the governors.

No boy, not so residing or boarding, shall be admitted to the school unless he has previously obtained the permission of the governors.

68. Every applicant for admission shall be examined by or under the direction of the head-master, who shall appoint convenient times for that purpose, and give reasonable notice to the parents of those whose turn is arriving. No boy shall be admitted to the school without undergoing the examination for admission to the department to which he is admitted, and being found fit for admission. Those who are so found fit shall, if there is room for them, be admitted in order, according to the dates of their application. If there is not such room, the governors may direct that their priority shall be determined by competitive examination.

69. The examination for admission to the junior department shall be graduated according to the age of the boy, but never fall below the following standard, that is to say: reading easy narrative, writing small text hand, simple sums in the first four rules of arithmetic, with the multiplication table.

70. The examination for admission to the senior department shall be graduated according to the age of the boy, but shall never fall below the following standard, that is to say: reading ordinary narrative prose, writing simple prose from dictation, sums in the four simple and compound rules of arithmetic, English grammar, geography, outlines

of English history, Latin grammar, translation and parsing of simple Latin sentences. The governors may raise the minimum standard for either department from time to time if they deem it advantageous for the school.

71. The governors and head-masters shall, within their respective departments, as hereinbefore defined, and subject to the provisions of this scheme, make proper regulations for the religious instruction to be given in the school. Such instruction shall be in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England.

72. The subjects of secular instruction shall be as follows: In the junior department, reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, English grammar, composition and literature, one or more modern European languages, Latin, one branch (at least) of natural science, mathematics, vocal music, and drawing. In the senior department, Greek shall be taught, in addition to the subjects prescribed for the junior department. The boys shall be instructed in the foregoing subjects according to the classification and arrangements made by the head-master.

73. Annual examinations (see p. 132, note).

74. The head-master shall make an annual report in writing to the governors on the general condition of the school, and on any special occurrences during the year. He may also mention the names of any boys who in his judgment are worthy of praise or substantial reward, having regard both to proficiency and conduct.

75. By way of exhibitions tenable at the school, the governors shall grant exemptions from the payment of tuition fees for such periods and on such conditions as they think fit. All such exemptions shall be given as the reward of merit only, and shall be assigned, in the case of candidates for admission, on the result of an open competitive examination, to be conducted by an independent examiner under arrangements to be made by the governors and head-master, and in the case of boys already attending the school, on the reports of the examiners and head-master, and no exemptions shall be granted to any such boy if the head-master reports that he is rendered undeserving of it by ill-conduct. The governors may under these conditions exempt boys from the payment of the whole or of one-half of the tuition fee, but such exemption shall in every case be liable to forfeiture in the event of misconduct or failure to maintain a reasonable standard of proficiency. Boys so exempted shall be called and ranked as foundation scholars, and the degrees of exemption shall be further distinguished if the governors think fit. No further exemptions shall be allowed when the exemptions, total and partial, reach the proportion of one in every ten boys in the school.

76. The governors may also, in cases in which they think it expedient, grant further exhibitions tenable at the school, by awarding to exhibitioners or other deserving scholars on the recommendation of the head-master gratuities not exceeding in the case of any scholar the amount of 10*l.* in a year, towards the cost of books and stationery, and other expenses incident to their attendance at the school. For this purpose they may apply yearly a sum of not more than 60*l.*

77. The governors shall apply the yearly sum of 240*l.* in providing exhibitions, each of such yearly value not exceeding 50*l.*, and tenable for three years at an university or any such place of liberal scientific, technical, or professional education or study as they may approve, to be competed for by scholars who are at least seventeen years of age, and who have attended the school for not less than three years immediately preceding the date of the election. Candidates shall be elected to these exhibitions by the governors on a consideration of the reports of the head-master and of the examiner. In cases of equality of merit preference shall be given to sons of inhabitants of the town of Wakefield.

79. The *Trade School* shall be a day-school only, under a head-master.

80. The head-master of the trade school shall have the degree of Bachelor of Science in the University of London, or a certificate of the Department of Science and Art, or some other certificate of proficiency in science as the governors may consider satisfactory.

81. The appointment, dismissal, and payment of assistant-masters, and the distribution of the amount assigned for the maintenance of school plant and apparatus shall be at the discretion of the governors, but except as aforesaid the trade school shall be subject to the like provisions as contained in the foregoing clauses relating to the grammar school.

82. The head-master shall receive a fixed stipend of 150*l.* a year. He shall also receive head-money calculated on such a scale, uniform or graduated, as may be determined by the governors, being at the rate of not less than 1*l.* nor more than 3*l.* a year for each boy. The payments of stipend and head-money shall be made terminally or quarterly, as the governors think fit.

83. All boys, except as hereinafter provided, shall pay such entrance and tuition fees as the governors shall fix from time to time, provided that no such entrance fee shall exceed ten shillings, and that no such tuition fee shall be less than 3*l.* or more than 6*l.* a year.

85. No boy shall be admitted into the school unless he has attained the age of eight years. No boy shall remain in the school after the end of the term in which he attains the age of sixteen years.

91. The governors and head-masters shall, within their respective

departments as hereinbefore defined, and subject to the provisions of this scheme, make proper regulations for the religious instruction to be given in the school.

92. The subjects of secular instruction shall be as follows: reading, writing, arithmetic, English, geography, mathematics, drawing (with special reference to mechanics and engineering), and such other branches of practical and experimental science as the governors may direct.

96. In providing exhibitions the governors shall arrange that half of the number shall be competed for in the first instance by boys who have been educated for at least two years at the public elementary schools in the municipal borough of Wakefield, and who have passed the inspector's examination in the standard suitable to their age, and the governors shall make such arrangements as seem to them best adapted to secure the double object of attracting good scholars to the school, and applying a stimulus to the said public elementary schools. None of the exhibitions in respect of which a preference is given by this clause shall be thrown to all comers until the head-master has reported that there are not enough boys from the said public elementary schools who on examination proved worthy to take them. Subject to the preference given by this clause, the exhibitions established under this part of this scheme shall be freely and openly competed for.

98. The governors shall also apply the yearly sum of 90*l.* in providing exhibitions, each of a yearly value not exceeding 30*l.*, tenable at other places of education or professional training, to be approved of by the governors, and to be awarded by open competition among the boys who have been educated at the school for not less than three years immediately preceding the date of the election.

100. In the management of the *girls'* school the governors shall act with three women, to be appointed in the manner hereinbefore provided for the appointment of co-optative governors, except that such women shall act as governors in future appointments. The governors with such women shall be called the governors of the girls' school.

101. The school for girls shall be a day, and if the governors think it desirable, a boarding school under a head-mistress.

104. The head-mistress shall receive a fixed stipend of 100*l.* a year. She shall also receive head-money calculated on such a scale, uniform or graduated, as may be determined by the governors of the girls' school, being at the rate of not less than thirty shillings or more than 3*l.* yearly for each girl. These payments shall be made terminally or quarterly, as the governors of the girls' school think fit.

105. All girls, except as hereinafter provided, shall pay such entrance and tuition fees as the governors of the girls' school shall fix from time to time, provided that no such entrance fee shall exceed ten shillings,

and that no such tuition fee shall be less than 6*l.* or more than 10*l.* a year. No difference in respect to such fees shall be made between any scholars on account of place of birth or residence, or of being or not being boarders. The payments for a boarder, apart from tuition and entrance fees, shall not exceed the rate of 36*l.* a year. No extras of any kind shall be allowed without the sanction of the governors of the girls' school, and the written consent on behalf of the scholar concerned.

107. No girl shall be admitted into the school unless she has attained the age of eight years. No girl shall remain in the school after the end of the term in which she attains the age of eighteen years.

111. Every applicant for admission shall be examined by or under the direction of the head-mistress, who shall appoint convenient times for that purpose, and give reasonable notice to the parents of those whose turn is arriving. No girl shall be admitted to the school except after undergoing such examination and being found fit for admission. Those who are so found fit shall, if there is room for them, be admitted in order according to the dates of their application. If there is not such room, the governors of the girls' school may direct that their priority shall be determined by competitive examination.

112. The examination for admission shall be graduated according to the age of the girl, but it shall never fall below the following standard, that is to say: reading easy narrative, small text handwriting, the first four rules of arithmetic, the outlines of the geography of England. The governors of the girls' school may raise the minimum standard from time to time if they deem it advantageous for the school.

114. The subjects of secular instruction shall be as follows: reading, writing, arithmetic, English composition and literature, geography, history, German, French, some one or more branches of natural science, algebra, geometry, domestic economy, drawing, and music. Other foreign languages may be taught at such extra fees as the governors of the girls' school may direct.

126. The governors may also, if they think fit and the funds suffice for the purpose, agree with either head-master for the formation of a fund in the nature of a pension or superannuation fund, the main principle of such agreement being that the head-master and the trust-fund shall each contribute annually for a period of twenty years such sums as may be fixed on: that these contributions shall accumulate at compound interest; that in case the head-master serves his office twenty years, he shall on his retirement be entitled to the whole fund: that in case he retires earlier on account of permanent disability from illness, he shall also be entitled to the whole fund: that in all other cases he shall, on his ceasing to be master, be entitled to the amount produced by his own contributions."

The regulations respecting religious instruction, the annual examinations, the annual reports of the head-master, and the scholarships in the commercial and girls' school are similar to those mentioned in regard to the grammar schools.

III.—EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTE FOR MIDDLE-CLASS EXAMINATIONS, MADE BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, JUNE 18, 1857.

Quum sit multifariam petitum ut bonæ spei adolescentes extra Academiam, literis artibusque humanioribus studentes, examinatione habita in Clientelam Universitatis recipiantur, placuit Universitati hæc quæ sequuntur sancire: 1. Candidatorum qui non sunt de corpore Universitatis Examinatio, vel intra Academiam, vel si res ita ferat, etiam alibi, quotannis habeatur duplex; videlicet Seniorum qui decimum octavum, Juniorum qui decimum quintum ætatis annum nondum compleverint. 2. Fiat Examinatio tum in Rudimentis Fidei et Religionis (nisi alicujus parentes vel qui in loco parentis sint hanc renuerint), tum in Literis Anglicis, in Historia, in Linguis, in Mathematica, in Scientiis Physicis, et in cæteris artibus quæ ad juventutem liberaliter educandam pertinent. 3. Testimonium accipiat quicunque tum Seniorum, tum Juniorum Examinatoribus satisfecerit; titulo etiam Associati in Artibus ex Academiæ auctoritate Senioribus collato.

Regulations for carrying into effect the statute concerning the examination of those who are not members of the university (Nov. 1857: has since been little changed).

The examination will commence on Monday the 21st of June. Junior and senior candidates will be examined at the same time, but the papers for the two examinations will be different.

A.—Examination of Junior Candidates for Certificates.

I.—All candidates will be required to satisfy the examiners in—1. *Reading* aloud a passage from Southey's 'Life of Nelson.' 2. *Writing* from dictation. 3. The *analysis* and *parsing* of a passage taken from Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village.' A few questions will also be set on the allusions, &c., in the poem. 4. Writing a short *English composition*, such as a description of a place, an account of some useful natural or artificial product, or the like. 5. *Arithmetic.*—No candidate will be passed who cannot work the first four rules, simple and compound, whatever may be his excellence in other respects. 6. *Geography.*—Every candidate will be required to draw from memory an outline map, showing the coast-line, the chief ranges of mountains, and the chief

rivers of some country to be named by the examiners from the following list: England, Scotland, Ireland, Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, South America, Australasia. Questions will also be set in geography. 7. The outlines of *English History*: that is, the succession of sovereigns, the chief events and some account of the leading men in each reign. The quality of the handwriting in the several exercises will be taken into account.

II.—The examination in the rudiments of *Faith* and *Religion* will consist of questions in: 1. The Book of Genesis and Exodus, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Acts of the Apostles. 2. The Catechism, the Morning and Evening Services, and the Litany. This examination will not be required of any candidate whose parents or guardians shall have declined it on his behalf.

III.—Papers will also be set in the following eight subjects, and every candidate will be required to offer himself for examination in *one* subject at least; but no candidate will be examined in more than four.

1. *Latin.*—A passage will be given from Cæsar de Bello Gall., books I. II. III., for translation into English, with questions on the parsing and the historical or geographical allusions. An easy passage for translation from some other Latin book. A passage of English, with the Latin words supplied, for translation into Latin.

2. *Greek.*—A passage will be given from Xenophon's Anabasis, books I. II., for translation into English, with questions on the parsing, and the historical or geographical allusions. An easy passage for translation from some other Greek book.

3. *French.*—A passage will be given from Voltaire's 'Charles XII.,' with questions on the parsing, and the historical or geographical allusions. A passage from a French newspaper for translation into English. English sentences for translation into French.

4. *German.*—A passage will be given from Schiller's 'Revolt of the Netherlands,' with questions on the parsing, and the historical or geographical allusions. A passage from a German newspaper for translation into English. English sentences for translation into German.

5. *Mathematics.*—'Euclid,' books I. II. *Arithmetic.*—Algebra to simple equations inclusive. This amount of knowledge will enable a candidate to pass in this subject. Questions will also be set in 'Euclid,' books III. IV. VI., in quadratic equations, progressions, and proportion, plane trigonometry not beyond the solution of triangles, the use of logarithms, mensuration, and practical geometry.

6. *Mechanics* and *Mechanism.*—The questions on mechanics will be chiefly of a practical character, and will not extend beyond the parallelograms of forces, the centre of gravity, and the mechanical

powers. The questions on mechanism will be confined to the mechanism of the steam-engine. The answers must be illustrated by diagrams or drawings. Great importance will be attached to good drawing.

7. *Chemistry.*—Questions will be set on the elementary facts of chemistry. Solutions will be given to be tested, containing each not more than one acid and one base.

8. *Botany* and *Zoology.*—Questions will be set on the classification of plants and animals, their uses, and geographical distribution. British plants and parts of plants will be given for description.

IV. Candidates may also offer themselves for examination in—1. Drawing from the flat, from models, from memory, and in perspective. 2. In the grammar of music.

The names of the successful candidates will be arranged in three divisions: Those in the first division will be placed in the order of merit; those in the second and third divisions alphabetically. After each successful candidate's name will be inserted his age, the place of his residence, and the school (if any) from which he comes to attend the examination. The certificate given to each successful candidate will specify the subjects in which he has satisfied the examiners. The fact that a candidate has passed the examination in the rudiments of faith and religion will be entered on his certificate, although it will not affect his place on the list.

B.—Examination of Senior Candidates for the title of Associate in Arts.

Candidates must be under eighteen years of age on the day when the examination begins.

I. All candidates at this examination will be required to satisfy the examiners in—1. Analysis of *English* sentences and parsing, and correction of faulty sentences. 2. A short English composition. 3. *Arithmetic.*—*Geography.*—Every candidate will be required to draw from memory an outline map of some country in Europe to be named by the examiners, showing the boundary lines, the chief ranges of mountains, the chief rivers, and the chief towns. Questions will also be set in geography. 5. The outlines of *English History:* that is, the succession of sovereigns, the chief events, and the characters of the leading men in each reign.

II. The examination in the rudiments of *Faith and Religion* will consist of questions in—1. The historical Scriptures of the Old Testament to the death of Solomon. 2. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John,

and the Acts of the Apostles. Those who offer themselves for examination in Greek will be expected to answer questions on the same parts of the Greek Testament. 3. The Catechism, the Morning and Evening Services, and the Litany; and the outlines of the history of the Book of Common Prayer. This examination, &c., as before II. 1.

III. Every candidate will also be required to satisfy the examiners in two at least of the sections marked A B C D; or in one of those four, and in one of those marked E F.

A. *English.*—This will include questions in—1. English History, from the battle of Bosworth Field to the Restoration; and the outlines of the 'History of English Literature' during the same period. 2. Shakspeare's 'King Lear,' and Bacon's 'Essays.' 3. The outlines of Political Economy and English Law. The examination will not extend beyond the subjects treated of in the first book of Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' and the first volume of 'Blackstone's Commentaries.' 4. Physical, political, and commercial geography. A fair knowledge of one of these four classes of subjects will enable a candidate to pass in this section.

B. *Languages.*—1. Latin; 2. Greek; 3. French; 4. German. A fair knowledge of one of these languages will enable a candidate to pass in this section.

C. *Mathematics.*—1. Pure mathematics. 2. Practical mechanics (including mechanism) and Hydrostatics mathematically treated. Surveying, and navigation, Algebra to the end of quadratic equations and four books of 'Euclid' will enable a candidate to pass in this section.

D. *Physics.*—1. Natural philosophy. Great importance will be attached to good mechanical drawing. 2. Chemistry. Questions will be set on the facts and general principles of chemical science. There will be a practical examination in the elements of analysis. 3. Vegetable and animal physiology. Questions will be set on vegetable physiology in general, and on the functions of vertebrata in animal physiology. Parts of plants and bones of vertebrata will be given for description. Great importance will be attached to good botanical and anatomical drawing. A fair knowledge of one of these classes of subjects will enable a candidate to pass in this section: but in all cases a practical acquaintance with the subject-matters will be indispensable.

E. *Drawing and Architecture.*—1. Drawing from the flat, from models, from memory, and in perspective, and drawing of plans, sections and elevations. 2. Design in pen and ink, and in colour. 3. The history and principles of the arts of design. A fair degree of skill in freehand drawing.

F. *Music.*—1. The grammar of music. 2. The history and principles of musical composition. The elements of thorough bass.

IV.—SPECIMENS FROM THE PAPERS OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

A.—For the examination of schools:

What is the meaning of the distinction between synthetic and analytic languages? Which is the earlier stage? Illustrate your answer by special reference to the case systems of Greek and Latin. Give the meaning of *laxare ordines, erigere aciem.* Give the etymology of *secundus, anceps,* and the comparative of *μέλας, τάχυς, pius, vetus,* and the superlative of *μακρός, prope, πέπων.* To what extent is Latin literature original? After translating a passage from Lucretius the candidate is asked to state the theories held by the philosophers Empedocles and Anaxagoras, and to state the chief differences between Lucretius and Virgil as writers of hexameter verse. In translating from Cicero, in Catilinam, the candidate is asked to parse *decreverit, nosce, egeris, egredere.* With a translation of Horace the candidate is asked to give the perfect and supine of *geret, expediunt, perficient, vinci, profero,* to parse *stravere, dereptum, cutem,* and to give the dative plural of *filia, præceps, adulter.* After a question about Mr. Merivale's view about the satirical character of Sallust, the candidate among other things is asked to mention the genitive plural of *canis, dux,* and *juvenis,* the comparative of *parvus, beneficus,* and *æquus,* and the perfect of *claudo, fingo, pergo, haurio.* After a translation from Juvenal, he is asked to give an account of the prospects of poets, historians, orators, and schoolmasters in Juvenal's time. The Œdipus Tyrannus is the most typical of Greek tragedies. Explain and examine this statement. Parse *μεμνώμεθα, ἀφῖξαι, πέφασμαι.* Which of the tenses of *ἵστημι* are intransitive? The comparative of *σώφρων, ῥάδιος, μακρός.* What internal evidence have we derived from the style, as to the question, whether Richard II. is one of Shakspeare's earlier or later plays? The rise of satiric literature in England. Trades' Unions, their uses and abuses.

B. From the examination papers for certificates: Compare the literary merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Æschylus and Euripides. Shakspeare differs in many points from the dramatists who preceded him. Illustrate these differences by examples. What influence did the 'Laocoon' exercise upon German literature? What are the special characteristics of Lessing's style? Give an estimate of Molière as a comic writer. Give an account of the controversy which led to the publication of the 'Provincial Letters.' How far was homicide excused and justified by the Jesuit writers? Does their teaching appear to have had any practical influence? Estimate the literary,

religious, and philosophical influence of the 'Provincial Letters.' What are the principal differences between the Latin and the French languages? Give the third person plural present indicative of *tenir, courir, finir, boire, plaire.* Write down in all numbers and persons the imperfect indicative of *possum*, the future of *fio*, the present indicative of *nolo.* Give the degrees of comparison of *acriter, fortiter, diu, senex, dives.* Give the perfect and supine of *surgo, rumpo, pello, tango.* Translate into Latin: He begged me to wait till he had finished what he was then doing. It is incredible how few of this nation can be trusted. There are few men whom I love more than I do him. *Precarious, study, solemn, injurious*; give the exact meaning in classical authors of the Latin words from which these words are derived. Parse the following words: *νῆα, γέρουσι, κρείττους, ἀποδόσθαι, μεθέντες, τείχη, φίλα.* Give the degrees of comparison of *ταχύς, αἰσχρός, ἡδέως, ἀληθής.* Give the future and aorist tenses of *ὄλλυμι, ἐκφέρω, ὄμνυμι, αἰσθάνομαι, γίγνομαι, κτω, τρέφω, ἐσθίω.* Point out in these words what is root, and what is formative or inflexional element. After translating a passage from Thucydides, the questions are: parse *καθῖσαν, καθέσταμεν, ἀναλοῦν*, and decline *νεῖς, ὕδωρ, ἁπλοῦς, ἱππεύς.*

From the EXAMINATION PAPERS of the LONDON UNIVERSITY.

A. *At the Matriculation Examination:*

Translate into Latin: It matters little to the republic, whether you depart or stay at home. All citizens must obey the laws of their country. Peace being concluded, the armies were disbanded. He promised to come early. I hope to receive a letter from my friend before he sets out for Rome. No one knows what may happen to-morrow.

Correct the sentences: Meminit res præteritas. Quum urbem cepisset, ædificia omnia publica et privata pepercit. Suadet me, ut Athenas proficiscerer.

Give the etymology of the words: *ambitio, seditio, conditio, contio, reditus.*

Decline *dives, Arabs, frigus acre, senex locuples.*

Give the third person plural perfect indicative active of *vinco, vincio, vivo, fingo, figo, tango, pergo.*

Besides the translation of a passage from Xenophon's 'Anabasis,' the candidates are asked to decline throughout: *μέγα ὄρος, ταχὺς ἱππεύς, μεῖζον κέρας*; to distinguish *αὐτή, αὐτή, αὕτη, αὐτόν, αὐτόν, αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα* and *ἡ αὐτὴ χώρα*; to name the mood and tense, and write down the first person of the present tense active of *ἀποδρᾶναι, ἐπετέτακτο, ἐτέτρωτο, διατέτμηντο*; and to write down the first person future and aorist active of *ὄλλυμι, ἐκτείνω, ὄμνυμι, ἀγγέλλω, λανθάνω.*

B. *At the first B.A. Examination.*

After the translation of a passage from the Iliad, the candidates are asked to decline in singular and plural ἀνὴρ βουλευτής, βοῦς εἰλιπούς; to parse θεῖναι, ὑποσχέσθαι, δύνηαι, κατέπηξεν, γνῶσι; what suffixes are added to nouns and pronouns to express the ideas of where, whence, whither?

In connection with a translation from Livy, they are asked: How do the Romans express to and from and position at, with names of towns? To translate into Latin: He vainly tried to prevent me from doing what I wished. He said he would not have gone away, unless you had ordered him. Camillus returned in triumph to the city, victorious in three wars at once. Such was the end of a man who, if he had not been born in a free state, would have had a place in history.

C. *At the first B.A. Examination for honours.*

Translation of chapters from Livy, Cicero, and Tacitus into English, and of a passage from Gibbon into Latin. Change of Latin sentences and periods from the *oratio recta* into the *oratio obliqua* and *vice versâ*.

In what sense is *quisquam* used, and how does it differ from *aliquis*? Distinguish between *non nemo* and *nemo non*, and give other examples of the same kind. State the different meanings of both the Latin imperfect and the perfect.

Translate into Latin: I hope you will not take it ill that I have spoken to you so frankly.' The soldiers were stirring up more dust than one would have expected from their number. I do not doubt but that you will soon discover how useful it is to study mathematics.

Write out the following sentences corrected: Minime tibi docet talia loqui. Cicero dicitur summum oratorem fuisse. Cupio scire quid ageres. Pueris ludere licentiam domus. Persuasus sum id fieri non posse.

D. *At the second B.A. Examination for Honours.*—Essay on the influence of Greek literature on that of the Romans. Translations of passages from Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle. Connected with this, state briefly the points discussed in the first three books of Aristotle's Nicom. Ethics. State the subject which Plato discusses in the Protagoras. Which are the principal rules about the use of the optative mood? In connection with translations from Lucretius, Terence, and Horace, we find: How do you explain the accusative in *stratus membra, coronatus capillos?* Explain the difference between Fuit hæc res documento, quanta *sit* and quanta *esset* vis conscientiæ.

E. *General Examination for Women.*—Write a short life of Agesilaus. Describe the immediate cause of the war between Greece and Persia. Mention the principal rivers of Greece, with their courses, and say which is the largest of them. Describe the positions of Delphi,

Platææ, Ithome, Cythera, Epidauros, Pylos; and state what you know of their history.

In connection with a translation of passages from the Odyssey, it is asked: State the voice, mood, and tense of *ἀφίκοντο, εἶπέμεν, πιθέσθαι, ἔρμαθεν, ἀρήρει.* State the case governed by the prepositions *διά, εἰς, κατά, ὑπό, παρά,* and distinguish the several meanings of them. In connection with Xenophon's 'Anabasis,' decline *ὁ μέγας ὄρνις, πᾶν δόρυ, ὁ ἀληθής μάρτυς.* When do the Greeks use the nominative and when the accusative with the infinitive?

The questions set by the *College of Preceptors* for the examination of schools and for the diploma (see p. 128) are of a similar kind. Examples from the former are: Connected with the translation of a passage from Cicero, De Senect. are such questions as: parse *viri, nive, eum.* What kind of verbs are *persequare* and *pœniteret*? Give the perfect and supine of *vides, doceri, excipiet, vixisset.* Of what verbs are *moriaris* and *moreris* respectively parts? Similar questions are put in connection with translations from Sallust, Virgil, and Horace, *e.g.*, distinguish *redeunt* and *reddunt*, or about the declension of *duce, manu, urbes,* about the comparative and superlative, or the principal tenses of ordinary verbs; short sentences to be translated into Latin. Similar questions are put in Greek, in connection with Homer and Xenophon. Even the questions put to candidates for the diploma of an associate are not essentially different (see p. 128).

V.—EXTRACTS FROM SOME OF THE COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

Clifton College, according to the system of bifurcation, besides a junior school (in which Greek also is taught), has a Classical and a Modern side. In the sixth form of the former the subjects of instruction are: the Old Testament (Judges), the New Testament (Philippians), Sophocles, Thucydides; Cicero, Virgil; Organic Chemistry, Mechanics; Delille, Molière's Tartuffe; Schiller (Don Carlos); Fouqué (Undine); English History, Geography, and Literature. In the first set of the modern side: Old Testament (Judges), New Testament (St. John); Virgil, English History and Geography; Shakespeare (Richard II.); Organic Chemistry, Mechanics; Racine (Athalie), Goethe (Hermann und Dorothea).

Dulwich College.—Sixth form (in 1875): Old Testament (Kings), New Testament (St. Mark); Cicero (pro Cluentio), Horace (Ars Poetica), Thucyd. Book VII.; Aristophanes (Nubes); Shakespeare

(Tempest), Goethe (Egmont); A. W. Schlegel (Dramatic Literature); Ponsard (Charlotte Corday); History of Greece; Trigonometry, Conic Sections; Mechanics; Chemistry (theoretical and practical); Physics (heat and light); Geology; Physical Geography (North Polar regions); Drawing (from the model, shading from the cast, anatomical and mechanical drawing).

At *Harrow* the modern side has every week six or seven lessons in Mathematics, four or five in French, three in German, two or three in Natural Science, two or three in Latin, two in Divinity, two or three in History and English.

The *City of London School* begins with a junior school, in which, besides the usual elementary subjects, instruction is given in English Grammar, Geography, and History. Above this there is a middle or commercial school for boys from the age of ten to sixteen, in which Algebra is commenced, and Latin and French also are taught. After this follows the concluding or senior school in three classes for boys between the ages of thirteen and nineteen; here Greek and higher Mathematics also are taught.

The curriculum of the *High School of Edinburgh* embraces six years, the first three of which are destined for the general junior division; above them the course is divided into a classical and commercial side, each comprising three years. In the highest class of the former two hours are daily devoted to Latin, one to Greek, &c., the pupil may have also Bookkeeping, if it is wished, without extra charge. In the highest class of the commercial side are taught: English Literature, History, Geography, French, German, Physiology. The pupil continues his Latin and Bookkeeping. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Natural History are not mentioned.

The *Edinburgh Academy* has similar arrangements. The classical side devotes three and a half hours daily to Greek, Latin, and Geography; two hours to English, French, German, Mathematics. The modern school gives daily one hour to Latin and Ancient History, four and a half hours to English, French, German, Mathematics, Geography, and Bookkeeping.

Hutcheson's Grammar School at Glasgow (see p. 73) has a course of nine years, and in the last of the classical side are taught: English, Mathematics, Ancient History and Geography, Latin, Greek, Antiquities, Music; and simultaneously in the modern school: English, Bookkeeping, Drawing, Physical and Mathematical Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, German, and Music. In both sides fencing with foils, rifle, and drill are taught.

Hutcheson's Girls' School at Glasgow has likewise a course of nine years, and in the last of the secondary department are taught: English

Bookkeeping, Drawing, Physical and Mathematical Geography, Natural Philosophy (in the preceding classes also Latin and Mathematics), French, German, Music, Domestic Economy, and lessons in Cookery (in the preceding classes also Needlework and Cutting out).

From the time-table of the *Stationers' School*, London (a middle-class school). The highest class on Mondays from 9 to 9.15 Prayers and the Scriptures (the same daily); from 9.15 to 10 English History; from 10 to 10.30 History; from 10.30 to 11 Algebra and Trigonometry; from 11 to 11.30 Greek or German; from 11.30 to 12 Greek or Algebra; from 12 to 12.30 is an interval. From 12.30 to 1 Drilling; from 1 to 1.30 French; from 1.30 to 2 French; from 2 to 2.30 French; from 2.30 to 3 French.

THE END.

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